

Bridgewater Review



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The Reagan Mystique

Like most presidents before him, Ronald Reagan will be the subject of extensive examination and evaluation. Historians, journalists, political scientists and the American public will play the role of the Monday morning quarterback and the 20/20 hindsight as they criticize, psycho-analyze, villify and glorify the 40th President of the United States.

Although Mr. Reagan's conservative philosophy and programs have had a profound impact on American society and our relationship with the world, it is this president's mode of operation, his style of leadership, that is most intriguing. President Reagan is without question the most popular chief executive since Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His ability to maintain this popularity despite obvious errors in judgement and ill-advised policy has earned Mr. Reagan the title of the "teflon" president and the respect of his critics who wonder out loud how this man seems to be immune to the normal popular and partisan attacks that all presidents have had to endure in the modern era.

Those who have engaged in the analysis of President Reagan have usually attributed his popularity to his communicative skills. The Great Communicator seems to have the ability to persuade the American people and the Congress to accept his vision of this country and policies that he promotes to achieve that vision. But there is more to the Reagan mystique than the talent for reading cue cards. Ronald Reagan, more than any of his immediate predecessors, has approached his job as president with a whole new set of assumptions about what the American people want from their chief executive.

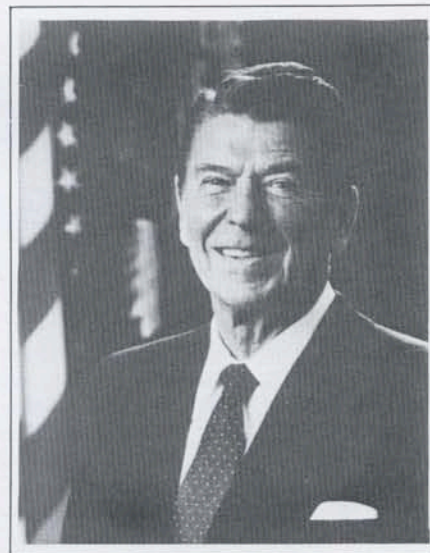
First of all, Mr. Reagan never really gives the impression that being the president is foremost on his mind. Reagan is more than a casual, laid-back Californian; he is rather a man who refuses to take the stuff of governing too seriously. To his detractors this attitude of governing as a chairman of the board instead of as the chief executive officer is dangerous since it often leads to poor preparation, laxity in administration and abhorrence of details. But to many Americans who have little understanding of the complexities of government and have lost respect for the professional politician, a president who is not overwhelmed by his job and who refuses to become intimately involved with

the day to day mechanics of governance is refreshing. Americans have lived through the intensity of the Johnson administration, the gloom of the Nixon administration, the blandness of the Ford and Carter years. They have seen presidents that were ornery, neurotic, humorless and most of all immersed in their work and their identities as the most powerful men in the world. The sight of a president like Ronald Reagan who looks as if he would be just as happy doing something else and works hard at making the presidency a pleasant experience has made him a hit with a citizenry longing for change.

Mr. Reagan's popularity as a president, however, is not merely the result of bringing a sense of relaxation and pleasantness to the White House. This president has also mastered the traditional values and symbols of American politics - God, country and family. There is not a nationally televised speech or a public appearance where President Reagan does not remind his audience that he stands foursquare behind those basic guideposts of American political culture. Reagan has shrewdly recognized that after years of dormancy, neglect and rejection, Americans were ready for a return to basics.

As a result the President aligns himself with Jerry Falwell and pushes for prayer in schools. He harps on the importance of patriotism and brags about the goodness of America (and the evil of Russia) and he uses every opportunity to cast himself as the champion of the family, whether in terms of his opposition to abortion or as an advocate of tax reform. What is perhaps most ironic about the President's use of God, country and family is their apparent absence from his own life. Here is a president who does not go to church regularly, stayed in Hollywood to make movies during World War II, and rarely visits with his children or grandchildren. But the American people do not seem to be bothered by these inconsistencies; they want to see a return to a social and cultural milieu that provides them with a greater sense of security and stability in these unpredictable and unsettling times.

But if there is a critical element in Mr. Reagan's enormous popularity it can be found in his ability to reflect the mood of the American people. President Reagan, like FDR, has the uncanny ability to make the American people feel good about them-



selves. Reagan not only tells the people what they want to hear, he tells them that everything is O.K. and will get better. Putting on a positive face and talking about a bright future is nothing new in politics, but believing that few things need fixing (especially by government) and actively trying to convince the American public that harboring negative thoughts or concentrating on nagging problems is unnecessary differentiates Reagan from his predecessors. No one really wants to be reminded about the poor, the unemployed, the sick, toxic wastes and the arms race. And so Mr. Reagan obliges and does not tell Americans what is wrong with America or assures them that all will be well in the future. To a country that has been inundated with messages of doom and gloom ever since the assassination of John F. Kennedy, a president who tells the people that we are doing just fine is a welcome blessing. There is however one hitch to this I'm O.K. - You're O.K. approach. The American people are gradually being lulled into the false belief that, indeed, all is well in the United States and that the problems of poverty, injustice, corporate irresponsibility and nuclear proliferation are somehow not their concern or deserve scant attention.

Ronald Reagan's popularity is without question a political phenomenon of enormous and perhaps lasting implications for America. Although his liberal detractors cringe at his vision of this country and deride the simplistic homilies that he delivers during prime time, this president has not only captured the hearts and minds of many Americans, he may very well be representative of America in the 1980s.

Michael J. Kryzanek

Friends Across the Border

Barnett J. Danson

To those who follow relations between the United States and Canada, the fact that we are one another's largest trading partners is "old news." Indeed, those of us close to the picture are well aware that ours is the largest bilateral economic relationship in the world, and the fastest growing -- over one hundred billion dollars annually, and over seven billion dollars with New England alone. This is double the United States trade with Japan and equal to that with all of Western Europe. Some two million U.S. jobs are dependent on exports to Canada. However, to the majority of Americans, and perhaps Canadians as well, these facts come as a surprise.

Virtually all know that we have the longest undefended border on earth and that we are the closest and friendliest of neighbors and allies. But with so much in common and with such a high level of interdependence, it should not be surprising that at any time we also have a number of problems that are inherent in such a close association. These are exacerbated in times of economic slow-down or stress. Nevertheless, we have managed to resolve these by careful negotiation and compromise over the years.

Institutional structures, such as the International Joint Commission, provide ongoing mechanisms for greater understanding and agreement on trans-border problems. Although sometimes painstaking, they are virtually always successful in the long run. Occasionally, on trade differences, we jointly seek mediation through multilateral structures such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In the case of the recent lack of agreement on fishing boundaries in the Gulf of Maine, we jointly sought the third party determination of the International Court at The Hague. In trade terms, we have the Canada-U.S. Automotive Trade Agreement which has successfully rationalized the production of motor vehicles between our countries. The Canada-U.S. Defense Sharing Agreement serves a somewhat similar role in defense production, so important to us as allies in NATO or NORAD. Most recently has been the appointment of two very distinguished Special Envoys to assist in resolving our



mutual concerns relating to acid rain.

The Canadian Prime Minister and the U.S. President meet at least annually on a formal basis, and have informal contacts. The U.S. Secretary of State and the Canadian Secretary for External Affairs meet quarterly, and here also there are continuing contacts. The New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers have yearly meetings and maintain close cooperative contacts. These meetings are not ends in themselves, but serve to identify areas of mutual interest or concern which are then addressed by all levels of governments and, where appropriate, the private sector.

All of this activity is referred to as "managing the relationship." I prefer the term "nurturing the relationship" to describe its intent, but "managing" is what we must do to "nurture." We resolve difficulties, or downright disagreements, and we exploit joint opportunities. Some of these are economic, others diplomatic and a growing number are environmental. Our shared water systems and air, as we are now more aware of the impact of acid rain, and the fish in our oceans who are unaware of political boundaries, all require our joint attention.

We are, however, sovereign states with similar though not identical cultures. Canada has a greater land mass than the United States but only one-tenth the population. This requires a different range of

approaches to our economy, transportation, communications and culture in order to maintain our unity as a nation, and to make certain we possess the economic strength to compete in world markets which are essential to our prosperity. The U.S., with its large population and vast domestic market is far more self-sufficient. It is critical to Canadian economic well-being to have access to major markets. Growing calls for protectionism cause considerable unease in a situation where the leaders of both nations are actively seeking more open and enhanced trade.

In the Canadian parliamentary form of government, the Cabinet, representing the governing party, can make commitments which, with its parliamentary majority, it can be virtually certain of fulfilling. On the other hand, the U.S. congressional system, which is the essence of democracy, puts considerable restraints on the administration. Regional considerations play a major role for both governments, but under the parliamentary system these are largely resolved before the government commits itself. In the congressional system the administration is less able to deliver as it wishes, particularly when the majority in one of the Houses of Congress is from a party different than the administration. Each of our systems has its strengths and weaknesses. Neither is perfect, but both are very good and highly democratic. They also seem frustrating, until we hark back to Winston Churchill who said that our system of democratic government is the worst in the world -- except for all the others.

In this context, with all of our imperfections, we have the most difficult relationship in the world -- except for all the others. Recognizing our value to one another, understanding our differences, and with ongoing goodwill, we can continue to benefit by one another's proximity, resources, markets and supports, if not at all times on every issue, at least in the fundamental values we share and, certainly, when they are threatened by others.

*The Honorable Barnett J. Danson, P.C.
Consul General for Canada in Boston*

Antarctica

Much Ado About Nothing ?



Graphic by Sarah Utka

Paul F. Jean and John Paul Rosario

Antarctica is a no-man's land. The seventh continent is so removed from what we euphemistically call "civilization" that the majority of the global community may read of it only in the pages of a geography text or in the technical language of scientific journals. Due to its geographic station and the complete lack of east-west tension there, Antarctica does not enjoy the status accorded to such regions as the Middle East or Central America; but it is a land that raises some vexing and important questions. Among these are: Who owns the continent? Who has the right to explore it and exploit its resources? What is the role of international law there?

Since the Antarctic Treaty came into force in 1961, the signatory states have cooperated in the region and international conflicts have not been allowed to intrude. In Antarctica, politics has indeed made for "strange bedfellows"; included among the major treaty states are the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, Argentina and Chile. Yet, Antarctica remains an oasis of stability in spite of the fall of east-west detente, the Falkland/Malvinas Conflict and until recently, a simmering dispute between Chile and Argentina over rights in the Beagle Channel.

Recently, however, both external and internal challenges have surfaced which threaten the viability of the Antarctic Treaty system. In November 1983, several less-

developed countries, which heretofore had shown scant interest in the region, began an effort to democratize the Antarctic governing system so as to ensure an equitable distribution of its potential wealth.

Within the Antarctic regime, there is little challenge to the status quo; what they have works and works well. Theirs, however, is a family whose outward appearances belie the internecine squabbles taking place within. Seven of the treaty states have long standing claims to the Antarctic which are not recognized by the other signatories. This, in turn, is complicated by the fact that claims by the United Kingdom, Chile and Argentina overlap and are entangled in a mesh of international legal issues and national sensitivities. Even so, one must not discount their ability to close ranks when threatened; disagreements notwithstanding, families do have a habit of pulling together when times get tough.

To many the Antarctic issues may seem peripheral to the mainstream concerns of statesmen; it is not a "life or death" question. However, tensions have already begun to surface, and they are just the "tip of the iceberg". The Antarctic question is a witch's brew of nationalism, legal questions, strategic concerns and differing perspectives on fairness. As the sources of many non-renewable resources continue to dwindle, competition over Antarctica will intensify. The pivotal question is whether

the Antarctic regime will be flexible enough to accommodate these demands, or will collapse under their pressures.

While the ancient Greeks postulated the existence of Antarctica, the continent itself was not discovered until 1820 --although by whom remains a matter of contention between the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. Scientific exploration of the region began in the mid-1830's and received a major boost by the Sixth International Geophysical Congress, which, in 1895, proclaimed Antarctic exploration to be the "greatest ... still to be undertaken." Its call was answered by a rash of expeditions to the continent, culminating in 1912, when Norwegian and British explorers nearly simultaneously reached the South Pole.

Sustained interest in the region, however, was not initiated until the International Geophysical Year (IGY) in 1957-58. The scientific expeditions associated with the IGY were planned and conducted by a dozen nations and made significant contributions to scientific knowledge. More importantly, the work involved complete international cooperation, including data sharing and the exchange of personnel.

With the termination of the IGY there was concern that the cooperation established, which was deemed essential for future scientific endeavors, should con-

tinue. Upon the initiative of the United States, the twelve nations which had participated in the IGY (the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, Argentina, Belgium, Chile, Norway, Japan, South Africa, France, New Zealand, and Australia) concluded the Antarctic Treaty of 1959. Their purpose was to provide a legal framework for the ongoing conduct of peaceful scientific research and to protect the continent's nearly pristine environment.

In pursuance of these objectives, the Treaty banned all military activities as well as prohibiting nuclear explosions and the disposal of radioactive waste on the continent. In addition, it afforded free access to Antarctica for scientific purposes and called for the free exchange of data and personnel. The Treaty literally froze all existing territorial claims to the continent (which had been previously made by seven of the contracting parties) until 1991, at which time the treaty may be reviewed.

In achieving its stated objectives, the Antarctic Treaty (which came into force in 1961) has been a remarkable success, even in the eyes of many of its critics. It remains the most stable, albeit limited, arms control convention in force and its successful operation has been unimpeded by external tensions. Major international research efforts in meteorology, oceanography and biology have been conducted under its auspices and, thus far, thirty-four permanent research stations have been established on the continent. In addition, several conservation measures have been adopted. These include the Convention on Antarctic Marine Living Resources, which provides for a commission to regulate the exploitation of the region's bountiful species of fin fish and krill. This is particularly important in that krill, a shrimp-like crustacean, which is considered by many experts to be the world's largest source of protein, is already being harvested by the Soviet Union and Japan.

For all of its success, however, the Treaty, as Antarctica specialist Christopher Joyner has noted, "failed to deal in any substantive manner with issues regarding resource exploitation, management or ownership." Attempts to rectify this omission lie at the heart of the present concerns over Antarctica. The international challenges to the Treaty system have arisen, in particular, over the continent's potentially valuable mineral resources. Currently the major signatories are negotiating for rights to regulate the development of Antarctic resources.

At this time the existence of hard mineral resources in Antarctica is largely speculative. The existence of chromium, cobalt, copper, graphite, gold and platinum, as well as other precious metals, are based upon the findings of "occurrences" -- very small amounts which may or may not be significant.

Due to several factors, not the least of which is that ninety-eight percent of the continent is covered by ice, there is, according to a recent *Foreign Affairs* article, "no serious likelihood that any of these will be exploited in the near future." Most of the interest has therefore been focused on potential oil and natural gas reserves. Although the existence of commercially recoverable quantities has not been proven, several studies are optimistic in this regard. In 1974, the U.S. Geological Survey estimated reserves of one-hundred fifteen trillion cubic feet of natural gas within the continental shelf of West Antarctica. (For comparison, recoverable oil in Alaska is estimated at ten billion barrels.) More recently, several countries and transnational corporations have conducted seismic studies -- some with "encouraging commercial results."

Nonetheless, the impediments to successful oil and gas development are formidable.

The Antarctic question is a witch's brew of nationalism, legal questions, strategic concerns and differing perspectives on fairness.

able: the continental shelves of the Antarctic are approximately twice as deep as the global norm; icebergs will pose a continuing threat to drill ships; and finally, the season for drilling is considered to be uniquely short. Even so, the anticipation of riches is putting the Treaty system under "more...severe stress than ever before." The overriding question is whether the major signatory powers can ensure that the Antarctic -- as stipulated in the Treaty -- "shall not become the object of international discord."

In November 1983, several members of the Non-Aligned movement of less-developed states broached the subject of Antarctica before the General Assembly of the United Nations. Previously these states had shown little interest in the continent. The situation changed with the beginning of negotiations among the major Treaty

states aimed at the creation of a regime to regulate the exploitation of mineral resources. The lesser developed states, indignant over the selective and exclusive nature of these deliberations, have launched an offensive against the underlying premises of the Antarctic system.

The root of this emerging issue is Article IX of the Antarctic Treaty. According to this provision, a state may achieve "consultative status" -- through which accrues the right to attend consultative meetings at which policy decisions regarding the continent are made -- only if it accedes to the Treaty and, most significantly, demonstrates "its interest in Antarctica by conducting substantial scientific research activity there." Of course, just what "significant scientific research activity" means is not self-evident. In the past, the sixteen Consultative Parties (the twelve original signatories and Poland, West Germany, Brazil and India) have restrictively interpreted this provision as generally requiring the establishment of a permanent research station -- a condition beyond the means of most less developed states. And the situation has been further aggravated by the secretive nature of the Consultative meetings, which has raised the suspicion and ire of those states not privy to these proceedings.

The issue is now in a state of temporary limbo. A resolution adopted at the General Assembly, at the behest of Malaysia, Antigua/Barbuda, simply requests the Secretary General of the United Nations to "prepare a comprehensive ... study on all aspects of the Antarctica Treaty system and other relevant factors." However, when this report emerges, the battle lines will have been drawn for a debate which could determine the fate of Antarctica and have untold consequences for the future of North-South relations.

The position of the Third World is clear and its objectives are twofold. According to Malaysia's Permanent Representative to the UN, "the world of 1959...is different from that of 1983." There is a growing and "ineluctable demand" by the Third World which comprises a majority in the UN,

for greater involvement in international decision making. No longer can a handful of countries arrogate unto themselves the prerogative of representing humanity in matters of common concern when the majority of humanity are not directly involved.

In addition, most less developed states subscribe to the principle that the Antarctic

Antarctic Treaty (summary of basic provisions)

- ARTICLE I. Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only. All military measures, including weapons testing, are prohibited. Military personnel and equipment may be used, however, for scientific purposes.
- ARTICLE II. Freedom of scientific investigation and cooperation shall continue.
- ARTICLE III. Scientific program plans, personnel, observations and results shall be freely exchanged.
- ARTICLE IV. The treaty does not recognize, dispute, or establish territorial claims. No new claims shall be asserted while the treaty is in force.
- ARTICLE V. Nuclear explosions and disposal of radioactive wastes are prohibited.
- ARTICLE VI. All land and ice shelves below 60° South Latitude are included, but high seas are covered under international law.
- ARTICLE VII. Treaty-state observers have free access—including aerial observation—to any area and may inspect all stations, installations, and equipment. Advance notice of all activities and of the introduction of military personnel must be given.
- ARTICLE VIII. Observers under Article VII and scientific personnel under Article III are under the jurisdiction of their own states.
- ARTICLE IX. Treaty states shall meet periodically to exchange information and take measures to further treaty objectives, including the preservation and conservation of living resources. These consultative meetings shall be open to contracting parties that conduct substantial scientific research in the area.
- ARTICLE X. Treaty states will discourage activities by any country in Antarctica that are contrary to the treaty.
- ARTICLE XI. Disputes are to be settled peacefully by the parties concerned or, ultimately, by the International Court of Justice.
- ARTICLE XII. After the expiration of 30 years from the date the treaty enters into force, any member state may request a conference to review the operation of the treaty.
- ARTICLE XIII. The treaty is subject to ratification by signatory states and is open for accession by any state that is a member of the UN or is invited by all the member states.
- ARTICLE XIV. The United States is the repository of the treaty and is responsible for providing certified copies to signatories and acceding states.

tic's resources are the "common heritage of mankind." They disavow any territorial claims to Antarctica and believe that its resources should be shared equally, or in proportion to need, among all of humanity.

The Consultative Parties, with the exception of India, have a quite different perspective. To them, the "common heritage" translates into "equal opportunity for all." Each state, they assert, should be able to exploit Antarctica's resources according to its technological means and within "environmentally-safe" bounds to be prescribed by a minerals regime. Furthermore, the major powers contend that the system has functioned smoothly and achieved its primary objectives. To disrupt it would be to court stalemate and ruin.

The outcome of this debate is highly speculative. Nonetheless, in the past, the majority of the Consultative Parties have been accommodating on similar issues,

such as the Outer Space Treaty (1967), the Moon Treaty (1979) and the Law of the Sea Treaty (1982). While the Third World has little direct leverage on this issue, it is clearly in the interest of the major parties to accommodate at least partially their demands in order to achieve for the system a measure of equity and legitimacy which it now lacks. To ignore their demands would exacerbate already strained North-South relations. Clearly the maintenance of a stable system to more fully realize the objectives of the Treaty requires no less of the present Consultative Parties.

Much of the contemporary writing on Antarctica is focused on the drama which is presently unfolding in the United Nations over the continent's regime and governing Treaty. While it is critical to understand the motives of the less developed states, it behooves us to recognize that there are other concerns calling for

attention. The question of overlapping territorial claims of Chile, the United Kingdom and Argentina is one such complex concern.

The basis of much of the uncertainty over these overlapping claims is rooted in tensions between Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth century during the height of their colonial experience. Conflict between these two states over their acquisitions in South America eventually required papal mediation. What resulted was the famous (or infamous) Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. Pope Alexander IV drew a line from the Arctic to the Antarctic at a distance of three-hundred seventy leagues (1,175 miles) west of the Cape Verde Island, dividing the New World between the two Iberian powers; Spain controlled everything to the west of the demarcation, while Portugal maintained its fief in the east.

The status quo established by the treaty broke down three-hundred years later when, among other Latin American states, Argentina and Chile achieved their independence. In a climate of uncertainty over their territorial borders, both states asserted claims to the Beagle Channel and Antarctica on the basis of a tenet of international law called "uti possedeitis juris." Translated, this principle means "as you now possess, so shall you continue to possess." At the time, both states felt (and continue to feel) that Spain's former colonial territories, as sanctioned by the Treaty of Tordesillas, had been bequeathed to them upon their independence. It is doubtful, however, that Spain was in a position to consign vast parcels of land it did not control, and probably didn't know even existed, to Chile and Argentina. While most Western legal scholars regard *uti possedeitis* as an anomaly peculiar to Latin America, Argentina and Chile continue to recognize it as the basis of their claims.

Both states have taken additional steps to bolster their claims. Most importantly, Argentina and Chile employ the "sector principle" whereby borderlines are extended from each state's territory and made to converge on the South Pole -- thereby creating pie-shaped wedges of national territory on the Antarctic. It is crucial to understand that the sectors of the two Latin American states and the United Kingdom are all drawn from adjacent or overlapping territories -- specifically the Beagle Channel* and the Falkland/Malvinas Dependencies. Since the sector principle is not based on any international legal precepts, however, it affords no specific

guidelines for adjusting these conflicting claims.

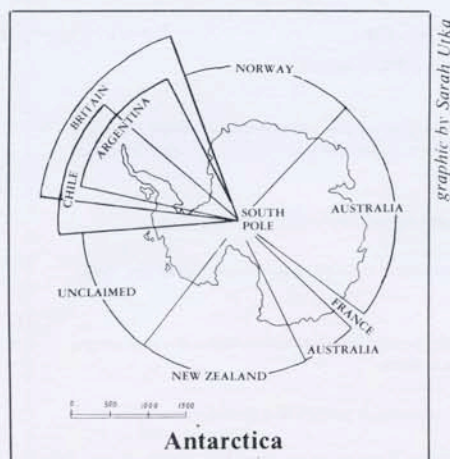
Argentina is very proud of its Antarctic territory. School children are taught at an early age that over four-hundred thousand square miles of Antarctica is *sovereign Argentine territory*, a part of the "fatherland." Incredible as it may seem, some of these children may even have a cousin or two attending kindergarten classes in Antarctica! The Argentines have birthed children in their sector, opened a post office and performed several marriage ceremonies there. To the outside observer, this may seem eccentric, almost facetious behavior, but the Argentines take it quite seriously. And so do Chile and the United Kingdom, the two powers who have the most to lose.

The United Kingdom and Chile have both had serious problems with Argentina, either over their Antarctic claims or regions adjacent to those claims. The problems involve legal questions of sovereignty, but have been elevated to an emotional frenzy, making rational discussion of the law all but impossible.

Chile's bone of contention with Argentina involves a century old dispute over rights in the Beagle Channel waterway, south of Tierra del Fuego. This dispute is centered on three islands which are within the channel, and which lie adjacent to the Antarctic. Chilean control over the islands would put it in direct proximity to Argentina's Antarctic claim, placing Chile in an even stronger position to lay claim to the Argentinian Antarctic territory. On occasion, tensions over this issue have reached crisis proportions; in 1978 war was averted only by Vatican mediation.

The sovereign claim of the United Kingdom to Antarctica is predicated on discovery and exploration. Among all the signatories to the Antarctic Treaty, the U.K. has the longest Antarctic "experience." The historical record indicates that they were the first to set foot in the region (1675) and the first to conduct extensive explorations of the Antarctic land mass. Neither Argentina nor Chile asserted a claim until the 1940's, and it is noteworthy that both willingly made remittances to the United Kingdom for use of shore and harbor facilities in the region.

It would appear that the United Kingdom, by historical right, has the most valid claim to the disputed territory since they discovered and explored it. However, there is a loophole in international law called "effective occupation" which warns that discovered territory must be occupied in



order for sovereign title to be valid; *discovery* is not enough, one must *take possession*. The British did not assert a sovereign claim until 1908 -- two hundred and thirty-three years after they set foot in the region. Argentina and Chile, to their credit, made known their presence in Antarctica soon after they asserted a claim.

It is critical to understand that Argentina and the United Kingdom have had a long history of tension and violence in the Antarctic region. The Falkland/Malvinas conflict is regarded by both as being inseparable from the larger Antarctic question. The 1982 war did not mark the first time that warships and gunfire were introduced into the region. In 1948, both states sent warships to the northern peninsula of Antarctica, an action which ended peacefully, and in 1952 the Argentines fired machine-guns over the heads of a British landing party in Hope Bay. As for the Falkland/Malvinas, they lie within both the British and Argentine sector of Antarctica. Since tensions over the islands are still high, they introduce an element of potential violence into the region.

The United Kingdom, Argentina and Chile have descended into an abyss deepened by hypernationalism from which they are going to have considerable difficulty extricating themselves. The Falkland/Malvinas and, to a lesser extent, the Beagle Channel, may seem peripheral to the larger Antarctic question, but their presence is a complication that the regime does not need. Although the Beagle Channel dispute appears to have been resolved, the Falkland/Malvinas is a slow-burning fuse which threatens to introduce into the region precisely what all the signatories want to avoid: great power confrontation, be it direct or through proxy. If the primary goal of the Treaty parties is to ensure an atmosphere of peace in the region, they must be prepared to address all questions which may even remotely threaten that peace. The treaty works well, but this is no guarantee against the proclivity of govern-

ments to put national interest above the common good. This is normal; nations are like people -- they do not always deport themselves with the rationality inherent in most legal discourse. Argentina, Chile and the United Kingdom are three of many states who have allowed abstract notions of pride and emotion get in the way of reason. In short, they think with their heart; and in affairs of the heart, rationality be damned.

In short the issues identified in the course of this essay involve complex legal questions, divergent notions of equity, nationalism and geopolitical considerations. While it is analytically convenient to separate the external and internal "challenges" to the Antarctic regime, each, in fact, interacts with the other, potentially complicating the resolution of either one.

What is to be done? First, consultative meetings should not be conducted in secret and information concerning the proceedings of these meetings should be widely disseminated. This would serve to alleviate the suspicions of those states, especially of the Third World, which do not participate in the governing of Antarctica. In addition, the governing process should be reconstituted along the lines of the United Nations Security Council. Membership in such a governing body would be restricted to no more than twenty states. The five states with the longest and most sustained interest in the region -- the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, Chile and Argentina -- would be granted permanent membership (although without any veto power), while the remaining seats would be occupied on a rotational basis amongst the other Consultative parties. Finally, the standards for attaining Consultative status should be lowered; the necessity of establishing a permanent research station on the continent is too restrictive and potentially diverts scarce development funds from Third World countries.

However, any solution along these lines presupposes that the issue of conflicting territorial claims to the Antarctic will not be reignited when the Treaty comes up for review in 1991. This seems like a not unreasonable assumption to make. The Antarctic regime has promoted the interests of all signatory states by guaranteeing unlimited access to the continent for peaceful purposes. Moreover, as long as the United States and the Soviet Union -- two states which have not staked any claims

--continue to act with restraint, it seems likely that the territorial claims to Antarctica can at least be kept in abeyance. The greatest threat to the Antarctic regime is posed by conflict *outside* the continent. To date the signatory states have managed to isolate the region from international discord; the regime has survived the most tense moments of the Cold War as well as the eruption of fighting between Argentina and Britain over the Falklands/ Malvinas. Nonetheless, the intrusion of outside conflict remains an unpredictable variable and one which will remain a constant danger to the Antarctic Treaty.

Thus, this is a critical juncture in the history of the Antarctic regime. Any solution to the challenges which confront it will necessarily be time-consuming and will involve difficult compromises. Upon the outcome of this process depends the future of Antarctica. One can only hope that this process will approximate the perfection of the constitution and government of Rome, and not the decline and fall of the Empire.

*As of October 4, 1984, the Beagle Channel Dispute between Chile and Argentina is reported as being settled. (*New York Times* 10/5/84, p. A-5). What effects this may have on the claims of either states cannot be measured since the agreement has not been ratified.



Paul F. Jean graduated from Bridgewater State College in 1983 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science. Presently he is working towards a Ph.D. in Government at Georgetown University, where he is also a teaching/research assistant.

John-Paul Rosario graduated from Bridgewater State College in 1980 with a Bachelor of Science Degree in Political Science, after being awarded an Associate in Arts Degree in 1977 from Cape Cod Community College. Presently, he is completing work towards a Master in Arts in International Affairs at the George Washington University School of Public and International Affairs.

Both authors are natives of Massachusetts and have written on topics covering Sino-Soviet affairs, Argentine-British relations and resource management. They are also recipients of Bridgewater State College's Political Science Graduation Award for Academic Excellence.

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The Design

*"...never in this
world will a man live well in his body
save dying—and not know himself
dying; yet that is
the design..."*

*William Carlos Williams
Paterson, Book I*

1.

My father tried a garden.
In a plot, ten by three,
with vines trapped and overlapping,
he grew tomatoes, squash, cucumbers,
horseradish, and beans.
What amazed him though,
for he swore he did not plant it,
was the pumpkin, small as a fist,
clinging to the chain link fence.

2.

He thought it good to save things,
so he did. The cellar was cluttered
with boxes and bureaus and uneven shelves,
all filled with things he seemed
to think he'd need some day: old calendars,
hot water bottles, sinkers, pickle jars,
and pictures of the Saints.
When he spoke, it was usually
about money, or baseball, or pills.
The pills he took made him worse,
but he didn't know what else to do.
He wondered, rarely spoke, about the pain.
Pain was the Yankees, the bums,
and he watched them, without expression,
each time he had the chance.
Chance was what he half-expected
would bring him money,
but it never did.
Only bills came.

3.

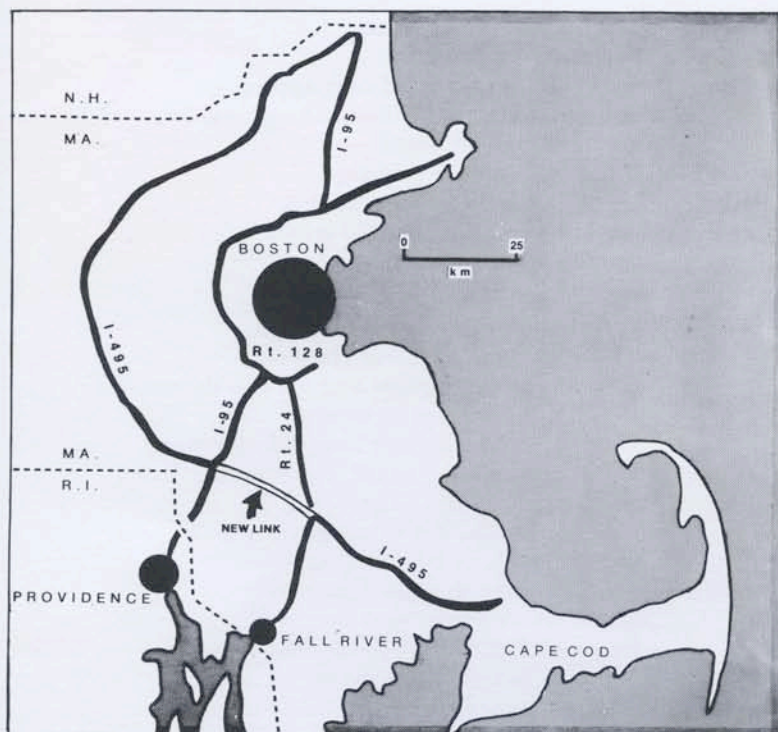
The last words he spoke
as he lay on the floor,
his brain filling with blood,
were a tired, garbled plea:
Take my hand.
Then the ambulance men lifted him
as if they had rehearsed it.

- Chuck Ozug

Chuck Ozug teaches in the English Department at Hingham High School and in the Massachusetts Advanced Studies Program at Milton Academy. One of the founding editors of the poetry journal Tendril, he has an M.A.T. in English from Bridgewater State College and an M.A. in English (Writing) from the University of New Hampshire.

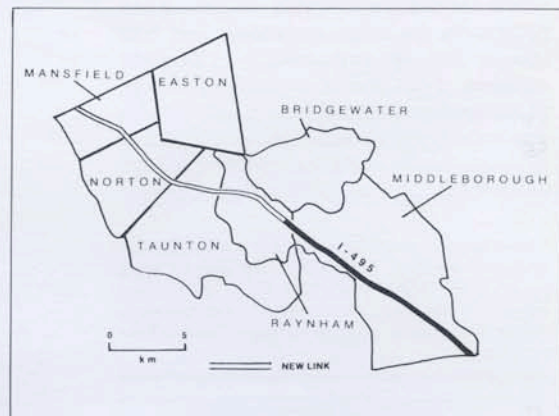
Completing the Missing Link: The Economic Impact of I-495 on Southeastern Massachusetts

Glenn Miller



graphic by Jean Kenny

Figure 1
Southeastern Massachusetts



Study Area

The long-anticipated final link of Boston's outer beltway, I-495, was opened in southeastern Massachusetts in November of 1982. South Shore residents who watched enviously as Rt. 128 and the North Shore experienced rapid economic growth and all the benefits (and possible drawbacks) of "high-tech" development, can now anticipate some of those changes in the area between Brockton and New Bedford. The catalyst, according to a wide range of indicators, is the completion of Rt. I-495.

It is generally accepted that access to a major highway provides the impetus for economic development and population growth. The full impact of circumferential beltways, however, due to their relative infancy, has yet to be felt. Only a few studies of the impact of circumferential beltways have been published to date, and they have focused on some of the earliest completed beltways: Boston's Rt. 128, Baltimore's I-695, Minneapolis' I-494 and

Washington D.C.'s I-495. The circumferential superhighways were originally conceived as bypasses around major cities, but with the rapid development of suburbs following World War II these arteries began serving the large new population which had settled along their corridor.

The I-495 link was chosen for analysis because it is one of the most recently completed beltway linkages in the United States, and because it is an outer beltway. I am aware of only one geographic study that has looked at an outer beltway (i.e., the second beltway), and that was a brief and early description of an older section of I-495.

Study Area

My study focused on the towns in southeastern Massachusetts that the newly-constructed link of I-495 passes through and on a few communities that are not bisected by I-495, but which nevertheless have been impacted by its completion (figure 1). The communities crossed by the

new link of I-495 are Mansfield, Norton, Taunton, Raynham and Bridgewater. The other communities that have been significantly impacted by the new link are Easton and Middleborough. The final link of I-495 is 14.3 miles long, with three lanes in each direction and six interchanges, where most of the new development is occurring. The new highway link runs from the Foxborough/Mansfield town line to the Bridgewater/Raynham town line. The highway was built to complete the missing link in the Boston metropolitan area's outer circumferential expressway system, and thereby to facilitate movement between central Massachusetts and Cape Cod.

Access as a Locational Factor of Industrial Parks

The completion of I-495 has definitely had impetus on economic development in Southeastern Massachusetts. The growth of industrial parks along and near

I-495, particularly in Mansfield, Taunton, Bridgewater and Middleborough, has been dramatic in the years immediately preceding and following completion of the highway.

The City of Taunton has probably experienced the greatest amount of economic development as the result of I-495's completion. Taunton began efforts to develop an industrial park in the mid-1960s and acquired land for the proposed park from the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health in 1974. Construction of what became known as Myles Standish Industrial Park started in 1976. This project was directly related to the extension of I-495, known as the "missing link," which was approved by Governor Dukakis in the same year that Myles Standish began construction. The interstate extension included an interchange with Bay Street in Taunton which abuts the northern boundary of the industrial park.

However, the park remained vacant until the interstate was completed in 1982. Its biggest public relations boost came after Taunton's unsuccessful efforts to attract a \$40 million state and industry financed microelectronics center: several firms that learned of the park as a result of the battle among state officials and the high technology industrial leaders over the training center's location have since moved into the park (figure 2). The recent growth of Myles Standish has been so successful that Taunton city officials hope to win legislative approval to expand the park onto 250 adjoining acres, presently part of the state's Paul A. Dever School's 400 acre grounds.

The Flatley Company, one of New England's largest real estate developers, recently proposed a 180 acre industrial park to be located in the town of Norton, bordering on the Myles Standish Park in Taunton. Flatley envisions a 500-acre complex of high technology-related industry all along I-495.

Route I-495 has also directly influenced the construction of Commerce Park, a high-tech/industrial facility and office park in Middleborough (figure 3). The first company that intended to build at Commerce Park was Advanced Dielectric Technologies, Inc., manufacturer of vapor depositions for the electronics industry. According to company President Glenn Walters, the Middleborough site was chosen over forty other communities within an hour's drive from Boston that are located on a major highway. He also cited the infrastructure, the crowding of Rt. 128, attractive tax rates and the large, available labor pool as additional reasons for choosing Commerce Park. Walters added, "I

wanted to be far enough away from the congestion of Boston, yet at the same time close enough to the scientific and industrial communities near the Rt. 128 belt." Advanced Dielectric Technologies recently opted for a site in the Myles Standish Park, instead of Commerce Park, because of construction delays and a change in the ownership of Commerce Park.

The Southeast Regional Planning and Economic Development District (SRPEDD) in its 1983 *Annual Report* stated that the completion of I-495 has already made an impact on the economic vitality of the region. SRPEDD specifically mentions the industrial developments in Taunton and Middleborough and the fact that I-495 registered an 18 percent increase in traffic volumes from 1982 to 1983.

***It is generally
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Frederick Rubin, the executive vice president of Commerce Park, argues that I-495 will ease the pressure on the Rt. 128 area. Agreeing with Rubin, The Bank of Boston recently reported that Southeastern Massachusetts is the next big growth area for the state. At the Massachusetts Office of Commerce and Development, a plan is being assembled which will enable the 128/495 industries already established to expand in the southeastern part of the state by building satellite plants in the area to utilize the large labor pool in Plymouth County. Rubin cites the large, available and skilled labor force and easy access to major land, sea and air routes as the major attractive locational factors of Commerce Park. The wage differential in the area is 20-25 percent lower than in the Route 128 area. The workers are especially skilled in hand dexterity due to the presence of occupations in the needle trades, fish net mending and increasing high tech assembly positions. Rubin also cites the quality of life in Southeastern Massachusetts as an important locational factor; the area is within easy access of both the social and cultural

attractions of Boston and the seaside resorts of Cape Cod.

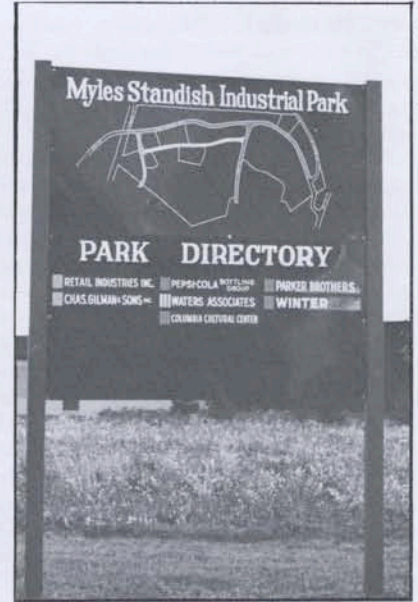
The town of Easton, particularly the section known as "Five Corners," is one of the fastest growing areas in Massachusetts. Since the final link of I-495 near Easton was completed, commercial, residential and industrial growth has been phenomenal. In the past two years three new condominium projects of over 200 units each and 200 private homes have been built. Several grocery store chains, including Stop & Shop, Brockton Public Markets and Fernandes, considered the Five Corners area in the 1970s for a new store location but passed up the site. Shaw's grocery stores, anticipating the positive impact that the completion of I-495 would have in terms of residential growth, selected the Five Corners site and has done well there. John Kelliher, the Shaw's official in charge of the development of the plaza, said, "My guess is we would not have built the store in Five Corners if Rt. I-495 had not been completed. We feel I-495 not only loosened up some congestion, making the area more attractive for local traffic, but we feel it will open up the area to more people and contribute greatly to the growth of the Easton-Norton-Mansfield area."

Obviously not every commercial establishment in the Easton area was aided by the completion of I-495. Until I-495 was completed, Route 106, which passes through Easton, carried a large proportion of the through traffic from central Massachusetts to Cape Cod. The traffic volume on Route 106 dropped from 22,300 cars per day in 1980 (after I-495 opened). Gas stations, in particular, along Route 106 were hurt by I-495's opening.

The completion of I-495 has also helped spur development in Raynham. The town's Industrial and Development Commission noted that 1983 was a most active year, as they received many inquiries about parcels of land in the area of I-495. The largest new employer since the completion of I-495 is the E.T. Ryan Ironworks. The only non-limited access interchange that Raynham has with I-495 is Route 138. Since I-495's completion this interchange has attracted to its northeast corner Healthway, a health maintenance organization. In addition, the developer would like to construct two or more office buildings on the site, and possibly a hotel. Overall, according to business owners along Route 138, the recently completed link of I-495 in Raynham has dramatically helped their businesses. Raynham, however, lacks suitable land in large enough parcels to attract much more industry. It is also probably



Figure 2: A. Park entrance sign.



B. Park directory.

too close to the well-established Myles Standish Park in Taunton to compete head-on as an attractive location for industry.

The town of Bridgewater, although without direct access to I-495, has also benefited from its completion. Bridgewater's two existing industrial parks have recently attracted new industries. The Bridgewater Industrial Park is located one-quarter mile from the I-495/Route 24 interchange, while the Scotland Industrial Park, one mile east of the Bridgewater Industrial Park, also is close to I-495.

Bridgewater also contains a parcel of land in a planned development district that is bordered by I-495, Route 24 and Route 104. This triangular area has been called the best site in Southeastern Massachusetts for industrial development, and in 1983 Pilgrim Properties, a Boston development firm, proposed a 110-acre industrial park. Due to reasons to be mentioned later, the town's zoning board of appeals, in late 1984, voted to deny the petitioner the special permit that is required before any development is permitted in the planned development district. It is not likely that the developer will appeal this decision, as the park project is not a current priority for him. The developer, however, still has the options on the land.

Mansfield, located at the western end of the recently completed I-495 link, has just about reached the maximum capacity in its major industrial park. Mansfield had the

advantage of being the southernmost point on the older section of I-495, which was completed years earlier, where it formerly terminated at its intersection with I-95 south of Boston. Without actually surveying the corporate leaders who decided to locate in this industrial park known as Cabot, Cabot and Forbes, it is impossible to sort out which companies, in particular, moved to the park because of the completion of the last link of I-495. It is safe to say, though, that the recently established transportation link of I-495 from Mansfield to Cape Cod influenced some companies to choose the park as their home.

Other Locational Factors

In addition to highway access, other factors have contributed to the economic development of southeastern Massachusetts. These include the availability of reasonably priced land, acceptable property taxes, affordable and skilled labor, quality of life and receptive attitudes of the local residents and town officials.

One reason for Myles Standish's recent growth, in addition to improved access is its relatively inexpensive land. Taunton is selling industrial park lots at Myles Standish at \$32,000 per acre, while some competing projects are asking \$75,000 per acre. Taunton wants to keep its land costs low because the primary emphasis is on attracting new jobs to the community. According to one estimate, of the 10,000 industrially

zoned acres in Southeastern Massachusetts, only 2,000 acres have adequate sewer, water and road systems to attract industry, of which 800 acres are in Taunton's Myles Standish Park. The Mayor of Taunton, Richard Johnson, calls Taunton "the best buy in Massachusetts," and he claims, real estate developers feel coming into Taunton like a "kid in a candy store, they can't believe the opportunities we have here."

The Mansfield park, although costlier than Myles Standish at \$62,000 per acre compared to \$32,000 per acre, is still cheaper than most downtown Boston and Route 128 sites. Flatley, who wants to build in Norton, claims his company can offer spec buildings at \$.75 to \$1.00 a square foot less than the rates charged along Route 128. According to Mayor Johnson of Taunton, many new firms may want to start out by renting space in Flatley's park and later buy land at the Myles Standish Park. He says that many high-tech firms begin by leasing space, then purchasing land and constructing their own buildings. Flatley is convinced that southeastern Massachusetts will develop in the next few years because of the strong work ethic of the people there, and because of the growing number of professionals who don't want to commute to Boston or Lexington.

The taxes in southeastern Massachusetts are relatively low compared to those in much of the rest of the state. As men-

tioned earlier, one of the reasons Advanced Dielectric Technologies, Inc. initially chose the Middleborough site was because of relatively low taxes. The labor force, in terms of size, availability and skill, was also mentioned as a key factor by several firms for choosing the recently finished I-495 corridor in southeastern Massachusetts.

Quality of life, as measured by socioeconomic and environmental factors is important in locational decisions. The cost of living in Plymouth County is generally lower than in the rest of the state and the New England region. The southeastern Massachusetts region offers swimming, sailing, camping and hiking, has easy access to Boston and Cape Cod and contains numerous colleges, the largest being Bridgewater State College and Southeastern Massachusetts University.

However, access and other locational factors will not guarantee economic development. The degree of community receptiveness along the I-495 corridor is also a major factor in luring a company to a particular town or city. Bridgewater, whose desirability as a potential home for industry was increased by the completion of I-495 has a long history of turning down industry requests to locate there. The industrial park proposed by Pilgrim Properties, as mentioned earlier, will probably not be built because the zoning board of appeals denied the developer a special permit. Many town officials expressed shock at the board of appeals' decision and took issue with the reasons given for the board's denial of the special permit. One of the town's selectmen, outraged by the decision, said "We've managed to put a stockade fence around Bridgewater to the detriment of the taxpayers." He added "We might as well put up a sign on Route 24 (where it intersects I-495): 'Don't stop here'."

Second Generation Economic Decentralization

An important centripetal economic force affecting the increased demand for developable land along I-495 is the lack of available land along Boston's innermost beltway, Route 128. Large tracts of land along Route 128 have become scarce and expensive: it is not uncommon to find tracts selling for \$500,000 per acre, and sites greater than one hundred acres in area are no longer available. Additionally, the rents along Route 128 have escalated rapidly and approach downtown Boston levels. The term "second-generation economic decentralization (SECGENECDEC)" has



Figure 3: Commerce Park sign.

been coined to describe the process of choosing an outer beltway site (or some other distant site) after being previously located at an inner beltway or inner suburban site. This has been the case with many Route 128 companies which have moved to Route I-495 sites.

Underscoring the growth of industry along I-495 and the movement of corporations from Route 128 are population figures for the 1980s that show that Route 128 communities are losing population for the first time in decades, whereas I-495 area communities continue to grow significantly. So far in this decade, 20 of 25 communities along Route 128 have lost population. Although the losses in most towns are only 2 or 3 percent, they are persistent. High housing costs are a major reason for the decline in population of Route 128 communities. Baby boomers who grew up in those suburbs can no longer afford to buy houses in their hometowns. Compared to Route 128 communities, the I-495 communities are a relative bargain when it comes to housing costs.

Conclusion

Many factors influence whether or not an area is a likely prospect for industrial development. The availability of reasonably priced land, acceptable property taxes, affordable and skilled labor, quality of life and receptive attitudes of the local residents and town officials are all impor-

tant. Southeastern Massachusetts has possessed these qualities for some time now, but the key to triggering the recent impressive growth of industry in the area was the completion of I-495. It truly was the "missing link." For the foreseeable future it appears that the I-495 region will be the growth area in the Commonwealth.

Glenn Miller
Chairperson

Earth Sciences & Geography Department



Robert Ward

Glenn Miller is the chairperson of the Earth Sciences & Geography Department at Bridgewater State College. Now in his third year at Bridgewater, he previously taught at Rutgers University and Frostburg State College. His major academic interests are urban & economic geography. Dr. Miller was named one of the ten outstanding college geography professors in North America in 1984.

The Elephant and the Mouse: Canada & the United States



John F. Myers and Mary H. Myers

For many Americans, Canada is not a very interesting country. We may link Canada with some familiar signposts -- the Mounties, the Eskimos, the Quebec separatist movement, the Trudeaus, the 1985 Toronto Blue Jays. We probably look upon Canada as some vague place to the north of us, cold and snowy, the source of the Montreal Express that makes our winters bitter, but a place that is basically like our own in most other regards, and so not worthy of *much* regard. Sondra Gotlieb, the wife of the present Canadian ambassador to the United States, has said that "for some reason, a glaze passes over people's faces when you say 'Canada.'" Canada and Canadian concerns have rarely had any priority for the American people or the American government.

On the other hand, Canadians are necessarily familiar with things American, due chiefly to the influence of the mass media. Proximity helps account for familiarity: eighty percent of Canada's citizens live within a hundred miles of the U.S. border. Great numbers of Canadians vacation in the United States, especially the vacation spots of Florida, Old Orchard Beach and Cape Cod. The desire for economic betterment has caused thousands of Canadians to emigrate to the United States, especially in the period from the 1850s through the 1920s. Many Canadian workers belong to American unions and many work for American multinational companies. Parallelizing the familiarity that the Canadian people have with the United States is the high priority that the Canadian government has traditionally placed upon Canada's relationship with the United States. Former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau used the analogy of an elephant and a mouse in describing the two countries. While the United States does not have to be overly concerned about the mouse, Canada, as Trudeau stressed, must, "no matter how friendly and even-tempered the beast, be affected by every twitch and grunt."

Throughout their history, Canadians have been constantly aware of the Republic to the South. In 1775 the American Revolution spilled over into Canada as the Americans seized Montreal and tried to capture Quebec City. During the War of 1812 Canada received the brunt of American hostility toward Britain, being invaded by the United States at various points along the border, particularly along the New York State frontier. Although successful in repelling the Americans, Canada became very sensitive to her own weakness as contrasted to the growing power of the United States. Other threats of invasion came after the two 1837 rebellions in Canada. Frustrated reformers broke into armed revolt in both Upper and Lower Canada, now Quebec and Ontario. "Freedom fighters" and adventurers from around the world, especially from the United States, wished to help rebel Canadians cast off the yoke of imperial Britain. At about this time, the Maine-New Brunswick border erupted in a mostly verbal clash over the boundary line. Troops and funds were raised. No actual invasion resulted from either of these two incidents. However, certain border areas of Canada still bristle with fortifications of the pre-1860 era, built to protect Canada from the United States.

Another potential military threat to Canada from the United States arose during the Civil War. Because of official British sympathy for the Confederacy, rumors of invasion ran wild along the border in 1864. The only actual invasion, however, was made by Confederate agents who invaded and looted St. Albans, Vermont, crossing into the U.S. from Quebec -- the "St. Albans Raid." When the Confederacy was defeated, the Canadians feared that the victorious Northern armies would march north into Canada. Such a fear proved groundless, because the Northern armies were disbanded as speedily as possible. However, many veterans of Irish origin did

become Fenians, a group dedicated to Irish independence from Britain. The Fenians attacked Canada in dozens of generally unsuccessful raids along the border from Maine to Michigan. The Fenian raids were important in convincing hitherto sceptical Canadians that the only hope of protection from invasion was a strong, united Canada. Nevertheless, after this era, Canadian fear of military invasion from the United States generally ceased. And as the dangers of military incursion waned, economic and cultural encroachment from the United States increased.

Much Canadian-American interaction in the last decades of the nineteenth century was economically motivated. Canada wished for a treaty allowing a free flow of goods, like the Treaty of 1854, which the United States had abrogated in 1866. All Canadian governments were unsuccessful in their efforts to achieve such a treaty. Consequently, Canada became protectionist and raised her own tariff walls. This reaction on the part of Canada led those American businesses which wished to break into the Canadian domestic market to make a run around the tariff walls by establishing branch plants in Canada. This infusion of United States industry into Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century continued until by the 1960s the Canadian people became greatly alarmed by the degree of foreign ownership of Canadian industry. The official Canadian response was to attempt some buy-backs through the Canadian Development Corporation and to screen future foreign development by establishing the Foreign Investment Review Agency (F.I.R.A.). Neither of these bodies has ever been exactly draconian in its actions. Yet the United States industrial interests were mightily offended by whatever weak efforts the Canadians mounted, Congress even threatening economic retaliation. The present Conservative government of Mulroney opposes these earlier policies and is encour-

aging the United States to invest more in Canada.

Cultural matters have been another area of concern to Canadians as they view their relationship with the United States. American movies, radio and television have had great influence on the Canadians. In the 1950s an extensive self-study of Canadian culture was undertaken with the intention of correcting the poverty of Canadian cultural identity. This study, the Massey Report, provided for monies to be funneled into higher education, the arts and music. Nevertheless, Canadians continue to favor Hollywood. Efforts have been made in the past twenty years to establish quotas requiring that a certain percentage of Canadian-produced radio, TV and movies be distributed in Canada.

The personalities of government leaders have been very important in U.S.-Canadian relations. Sometimes the leaders have liked each other; sometimes not. When the first Canadian Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, made his first official trip to Washington in 1870, the U.S. government did not bother to send a representative to meet him at the train station. This rude reception seemed to set an unofficial precedent for the low esteem in which many U.S. heads of state would hold Canadian leaders.

Teddy Roosevelt typified such treatment during the Alaskan Boundary Dispute, which arose in 1898 after the discovery of gold in the Klondike. Motivated by its desire to control access from the Pacific to the gold-fields, the Canadian government re-examined the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825, which specified the boundary between Alaska and Canada. The United States had inherited the Russian rights under the treaty when it purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 and, although the boundary had never been accurately surveyed, for 73 years Canada had been effectively barred access to the sea. Throughout the controversy Roosevelt never hesitated to insist in public that the United States would get what it

wanted. According to historian Henry Adams, "When Canada raises a bristle, Theodore Roosevelt roars like a Texas steer and romps around the ring screaming for instant war and ordering a million men to arms." After the first effort at compromise failed, Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier told the Canadian Governor General (the head of State representing the British monarch), "I like the Americans. But I would like them more if they were not so intensely selfish and grasping." The Alaska Tribunal decided in favor of the United States on most of the critical issues. After bullying his way to success in the boundary matter, which served to embitter

tion which are not involved in the relations of the United States with nations beyond the seas. We may have not always recognized that in the past, but that must be our viewpoint in the future. Say that for me to the people of Canada, with all the earnestness and sincerity of my heart.

The new Speaker of the House, James Beauchamp Clark, inadvertently almost killed the new reciprocity treaty when he announced in the U. S. House, "I am for it (the treaty) because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North

American possessions clear to the North Pole!" Clark was nicknamed "Champ" in the United States, but was called "Chump" in Canada after his speech. Although a favorable vote followed in the U.S. Congress, the Canadian public was understandably frightened with the implications of such rhetoric.

Taft tried to undo the adverse impact that Clark's speech had on Canadians by stating that "no thought of future political annexation or union was in the minds of the negotiators on either side. Canada is now and will remain a political unit." Later Taft, in a speech to newspaper editors in New York, labelled

talk of annexation "bosh," and added that "Canada is a great strong youth, anxious to test his muscles, rejoicing in the race he is ready to run." Although the United States continued to declare that annexation of Canada was not in its mind, Canada was seriously concerned. Sensitive to the theme of the Clark speech, Laurier was placed on the defensive in his own country. In the parliamentary elections of 1911, Robert Borden, leader of the Conservatives, warned Canadians "to cast a soberly considered and serious vote for the preservation of our heritage, for the maintenance of our commercial and political freedom, for the permanence of Canada as an autonomous nation of the British Empire." Fear of the United States was a major factor contri-



William Lyon Mackenzie



John George Diefenbaker

Laurier against the United States, Roosevelt became more admiring of Canada, its government and its potential.

Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, was the first U.S. President to rent vacation property in Canada, in Murray Bay, Quebec. Taft was also the first President to accept the long-sought Canadian goal of free trade with the United States. Taft met with the Canadian Governor General, Earl Grey, and the Canadian Finance minister, and left them the following stirring message:

I am profoundly convinced that these two countries, touching each other for more than three thousand miles, have common interests in trade and require special arrangements in legislation and administra-

buting to the defeat of the seemingly strong Liberals and the hoped-for goal of free trade with the United States.

The new Prime Minister, Robert Borden, worked to reaffirm Canadian good will with the United States in spite of the negative Canadian sentiment signified by the election. Borden served as Prime Minister for much of the second decade of the twentieth century, which included four years of World War I. He had to battle President Woodrow Wilson into allowing Canada to be admitted as a participant in the peace treaty after the war. Borden found Wilson "very tiresome" and "obstinate as a mule." The British had to remind the United States that Canada, with only ten percent of the United States' population, had lost more men in combat than had the United States. In arguing for Canada's well-earned right to be part of the peace treaty process, Borden wrote that "the people of Canada will not tamely submit to a dictator which declares that Liberia or Cuba, Panama or Hejaz, Haiti or Ecuador must have a higher place." Borden did prevail, and Canada became an independent signatory to the peace treaty and also played a part in the formulation of the League of Nations.

One of the most interesting relationships in the years since Confederation was the friendship between Franklin D. Roosevelt and William Lyon Mackenzie King in the ten years, 1935-1945, that they were leaders of their respective countries. Their only common bond was their association with Harvard, which FDR had attended as an undergraduate, and King as a doctoral student. Although not at Harvard at the same time, they still felt an affinity as college buddies. Furthermore, Roosevelt had a warm feeling toward Canada from his many years vacationing on Campobello Island, off the coast of Maine in New Brunswick. King, as his diary attests, felt comfortable with FDR. FDR made more official visits to Canada than any other President, while King became a virtual lodger in the White House. During this period, relations between the United States and Canada matured into respectful sophistication, due in large part to the necessities of World War II. Much of our present-day economic and military interdependence resulted from agreements between FDR and King reached at Ogdensburg, New York, in 1940 and at Hyde Park, New York, in 1941. The meetings were informal and without advisors. The Hyde Park agreement bore no official



Lester Bowles Pearson

***Probably the lowest point
in U.S.-Canadian relations
came during the short
time John F. Kennedy was
President and John
Diefenbaker was Prime
Minister.***

signatures, only a "Done by Mackenzie and FDR on a grand Sunday in April."

All did not always proceed so cordially, however. Probably the lowest point in U.S.-Canadian relations came during the short time John F. Kennedy was President and John Diefenbaker was Prime Minister. The American leader was bright, young, sophisticated, self-assured, while the Canadian was rural, evangelical and unsure. Diefenbaker was a spellbinding orator, the champion of the little man, the great raconteur, and the outstanding parliamentarian. But suddenly it was Kennedy who was galvanizing the world, and Diefenbaker was jealous.

The two men managed to irritate each other almost constantly. Diefenbaker was

offended by Kennedy in countless ways, usually over trivial issues such as a new painting of the War of 1812 in the White House, which offended the Prime Minister because it reminded him of the war in which the United States had invaded Canada. Kennedy publicly needled Diefenbaker. He criticized his French, deliberately mispronounced his name, and even belittled Diefenbaker's skill as an angler, which was the most hurtful jab of all, Diefenbaker being very proud of his fishing talents. He later referred to Kennedy as "that boastful son of a bitch." On one of his several trips to Ottawa, Kennedy lost a one-page document entitled "What We Want from Ottawa Trip." Diefenbaker found it and kept it, calling it "abrasive."

Diefenbaker refused to involve Canada in the Organization of American States (OAS), which Canada still has not joined. Neither would he join the nuclear camp, except for peaceful applications of nuclear power. The last straw for Diefenbaker was Kennedy's friendship with Lester B. Pearson, the Leader of the Opposition. Diefenbaker felt that the White House was out to get him. In fact, when he was defeated by Pearson's Liberals, the Kennedy White House staff reportedly joked and cheered.

Lester B. Pearson and Kennedy got along famously. Pearson was invited to Hyannisport often, and he swapped baseball stories with the Kennedy crowd. But it was not the same with Lyndon Johnson, whose style was radically different from Kennedy's. A weekend at The Ranch was far more hectic than one spent on Cape Cod. Johnson treated Pearson as one of the family, sharing much with the Prime Minister, including any top-secret telegram which just happened to arrive -- even messages from the battlefield in Vietnam. As Pearson later described it, "It was quite unlike anything that could have happened at any other place in any other meeting between leaders of government." One notable incident in 1965 that for the moment disrupted the otherwise amiable association between the two leaders was sparked by a speech that Pearson gave at Temple University, criticizing the U.S. policy in Vietnam. An enraged Johnson invited the errant Prime Minister to Camp David where he berated him. In a characteristic outburst, the President grabbed the Prime Minister by the collar, twisted, and lifted the smaller man off the ground, shouting "You've pissed on my rug!" Although the incident was kept quiet for some time and Pearson never mentioned it in his memoirs, it

became public knowledge after the deaths of the two leaders.

Pierre Eliot Trudeau, who was Prime Minister of Canada from 1968 to 1984 except for a few months in 1979-80, was unlike any of his predecessors. As historian Lawrence Martin writes,

Trudeau was a Harvard man, an intellectual, an internationalist, an athletic, cultured man with a play-boy aspect. For John Kennedy he would have been splendid ... But it was Trudeau's misfortune to face a streak of incompatibles or near-incompatibles -- LBJ, Nixon, Carter, Reagan.

In spite of his opinion of his counterparts in the United States, Trudeau remained respectful and orthodox. Nevertheless, with his usual political acuity, it was in Washington that Trudeau developed his famous elephant and mouse analogy, alluded to earlier, which aptly described the ever-cautious eye with which Canada regards the United States.

During his long tenure as Prime Minister, Trudeau frequently adopted strong positions concerning the United States. With the creation of the National Energy Policy, restrictions were placed upon those Canadian energy resources which could be sold south of the border. The Federal Investment Review Act was passed, creating a watch-dog agency to examine new foreign economic encroachment and to allow into Canada only those non-Canadian businesses which met certain criteria. Efforts were made by Ottawa to block Canadian advertisements in United States border TV stations. This was the era of the "Third Option," which called for less reliance on the United States and more involvement with other areas of the world. Although Canada was asserting herself to protect her interests, the United States government did not get very upset, considering these to be but minor concerns in the total picture of United States foreign policy.

Of the four presidents with whom Trudeau dealt, he respected Nixon the most and Reagan the least. Despite the fact that Nixon was ideologically at variance with Trudeau, they worked well together. However, in 1971 Nixon shocked Canada by proposing a protectionist economic policy calling for a ten percent surcharge on the imports from all the world's countries -- including Canada. Canada had long received special treatment from the U.S. as a hemispheric partner, and with the implementation of the surcharge was quite dis-

satisfied to become just another U.S. competitor. Nonetheless, as a public figure, Nixon was very popular in Canada. Canadians were impressed with his vast fund of information and his ability to give brilliant speeches without notes.

Reagan was another matter. Trudeau held Reagan in low regard, and even set aside the customary respect with which he treated American leaders. His jibes were the sharpest of any delivered by a Canadian Prime Minister toward a U.S. President. In a meeting before the opening of the 1981 Ottawa economic summit, Trudeau made it clear, both to the media and to President Reagan, that he, Trudeau, was running the meeting, and that the President would have the opportunity to give his views when the next summit was held in Washington. When, at a meeting in Europe of the heads of NATO governments, a reporter asked Reagan a question, Trudeau broke in and shouted, "Don't ask him -- ask Al," meaning Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

President Reagan has found a more kindred soul in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, whose Conservative government succeeded Trudeau's Liberal government in the elections of 1984. Much was made of their common Irish heritage at the recent "Shamrock Summit" in Quebec. Both men are strong advocates of free trade, and this will continue to be the big issue between the two countries in the weeks to come. The two conservative leaders generally see eye-to-eye on most issues.

Of course there are still irritants, some of long standing, between the U.S. and Canada. Acid rain looms large, with the United States government dragging its feet, long after the damning research has put the blame squarely on the United States. The fishing controversy and off-shore boundary problems still rankle between the two countries. Because of the extension of the off-shore boundary to two hundred miles, the effect of defining each country's fishing zones in the Gulf of Maine became so complex and so controversial that finally, in 1979, both the United States and Canada agreed to place the issue before the World Court at the Hague. In late 1984, the World Court handed down a ruling, dividing the waters of the Gulf of Maine between the two countries. However, the governments of both countries called the ruling unsatisfactory. Both Canadian and U.S. fishing industries expressed disappointment with the decision, and each predicted fewer jobs and reduced profits. There are other problems between Canada

and the U.S., some of which may never be worked out.

As long as two such countries exist side by side, problems are unavoidable. The United States will probably remain the elephant and Canada the mouse (although perhaps Canada would rather be the moose), and perceptions of each other will continue to be at odds. Living as she does in the shadow of a superpower, Canada will always be sensitive about her independence and identity. Prime Minister Mulroney, in a recent speech to the House of Commons in Ottawa, summed up Canadian resolve when he assured the members that although free trade was Canada's goal in upcoming discussions with the United States, "our national sovereignty, our independence and our cultural integrity will never be touched."

John F. Myers
Associate Professor of History
Mary H. Myers
Associate Librarian

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John F. Myers, associate Professor of History, has for the past twelve years been Chairman of the College's Canadian Studies Council, which oversees the Canadian Studies Program. Mary H. Myers, associate librarian, has been with the Maxwell Library for eleven years, the past eight years as Periodicals Librarian. The Myers' vacation plans almost always include travel in Canada, for which they share an abiding love.



The Eyes Have It

The Wonder and Excitement of Learning

Richard Gopen, M.Ed. '81, coordinates Media Services at the College's Burnell Campus Laboratory School. In addition to his responsibilities for facilitating the growth and development of instructional technology at the School, Mr. Gopen's seminars and clubs for both children and adults in "Photography" and "TV Production" are among Burnell's unique features. Mr. Gopen has won numerous awards for photography, and is one of the chief contributors to the College's newly revised 12-projector multi-image sound-slide presentation, "A Tradition of Excellence," produced by Director of Media Services, Dr. Glenn W. Cook.

All Photos in the Gallery section were taken at the Burnell Campus Laboratory School.



Fascination



Going for the Gold !



Bridging the Learning Gap

“When General Grant to Ireland Came...”

A Discordant Note in an Harmonious Journey.

Jordan D. Fiore

In the spring of 1984 President Ronald Reagan visited the Republic of Ireland, the home of his paternal ancestors. Everywhere he drew large and friendly crowds, but at almost every point, there were groups of protesters who opposed his position on a variety of political and military subjects and were eager to demonstrate their opposition.

Some American reporters on the scene professed to be upset by this show of unfriendliness toward a popular political figure, and several correspondents spent almost as much time in dealing with this opposition as they did with the positive aspect of the trip. In reality, protest has almost always been a fact of life in Ireland, and indeed the opposition to Reagan was mild when compared with the insult to former President Ulysses S. Grant more than one hundred years ago.

After the completion of his second term as President, Grant decided to make a European trip, which eventually was extended to Asia and then across the Pacific to San Francisco. Wherever he went, there were parades, receptions, banquets, reviews, balls, and fireworks as crowds gathered to see the victorious general and former head of state, the first President of the United States to travel extensively abroad after leaving the White House.

Grant, his wife, one of his sons, and a large entourage of reporters and others sailed from Philadelphia on May 17, 1877, on the American line steamer *Indiana*. Their first landing place in Ireland was Queenstown (present-day Cobh), on March 27. A number of prominent local officials, mindful of the large number of their countrymen who had moved to the United States and of the many Irish-American soldiers who had served in Grant's army in the Civil War, assured him that he was loved and respected in Ireland and that the Irish people would welcome him "with all warmth and candor."

Grant accepted the accolades, but he regretfully informed the Irish leaders that he could not accept their hospitality immediately. He was expected in England at once, but he promised them that he planned to return to Ireland and to spend some time there before returning to the United States.

Nineteen months passed before Grant returned to Ireland. He traveled to England, where he met Queen Victoria, to Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Egypt, Turkey, the Holy Land, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Austria, Greece, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal, and finally, before leaving for the Orient, he came to Ireland early in 1879.

He expected an enthusiastic reception in Ireland, not only because of the affinity of the people there to many of his countrymen, but because many of the national aspirations of the Irish, particularly in the southern part of that country, were an historic parallel to those of the Americans. As one reporter who accompanied the group wrote, "To an immense proportion of the Irish people General Grant typifies the republican form of government which they hope for."

The General and his wife spent a delightful Christmas in Paris, and then, leaving her behind, he went on to Ireland and landed in Dublin on January 3, 1879. The Lord Mayor welcomed him and gave him the key to the city. Grant expressed his pride at being made an honorary citizen of Dublin, and he reminded his audience:

I am by birth the citizen of a country where there are more Irishmen, native born or by descent in all Ireland. When in office I had the honor -- and it was a great one, indeed -- of representing more Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen than does her Majesty the Queen of England.

Supporters of Irish Home Rule and royal officials joined in honoring Grant, and that evening at a banquet he made one of the longest speeches in his career, pointing out to the English and the Irish that they had made great profit from American purchases there in the previous twenty or more years, but that the balance of trade would soon shift, and the exports of goods from the United States to the British Isles would soon exceed their imports. Before he left Dublin the news came that however happy the people of Dublin were at his arrival, Grant would be unwelcome in the city of Cork.

The United States Consul in Cork had written to the Cork City Council, an-

nouncing that the General planned to be in that city in a few days, and an Irish Nationalist member of the Council moved that the letter be marked "Read" and filed, and an animated discussion followed. Why should the Cork City Council have treated Grant in this manner and pronounced him objectionable?

In the fall of 1875, when several states held off-year elections, Grant went to St. Louis and then to a reunion of the Army of the Tennessee in Des Moines. Here he was asked to deliver an address, and he injected a new note in national politics. Concerned with the plight of the nation's teachers who had suffered greatly from the panic of 1873, he spoke of the destiny of the public schools, lower pupil attendance due to the depression, salary cuts, the abandonment of school buildings, and retrenchment in the support of public schools by local governments. He sought to realign the Republican party in favor of public education, since the conservatives of the Democratic party in the South and the large Catholic following in the North had never made full public education an issue.

Grant pointed out the need for Federal and State aid to education. "Every state, he said, should furnish to every child growing up in the land the means of acquiring a good common school education," and beyond the common school, Grant thought that every state should do whatever its wealth allowed. He added:

Let us labor for security of free thought, free speech, free press, pure morals, unfiltered religious sentiment, and equal rights and the privileges of men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion; encourage free schools; resolve that not one dollar appropriated to them shall go to the support of any sectarian school; resolve that neither state nor nation shall support any institution save those where every child may get a common school education, unmixed with any atheistic, pagan, or sectarian teachings; leave the matter of religious teaching to the family altar, and keep Church and State separate.

Although this statement may seem innocuous to us today, some Democrats insisted



U. S. Grant

**...the first
President
of the United States
to travel extensively abroad
after leaving the
White House.**

that Grant was talking against Catholic schools and injecting an anti-Catholic issue into the campaign.

In fairness to Grant, it is certain that, although he was probably playing politics with the issue of education, he was no anti-Catholic. He had served with many Roman Catholics in the army, and his closest military associates were William T. Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan, both Roman Catholics, who owed to Grant their promotions to the highest rank. The most lucrative public office in his administration, the Collectorship of the Port of New York, was given to Thomas Murphy, a Roman Catholic, whom Grant appointed over much Republican opposition and who was characterized as a "Tammany Republican" and a "bigoted Roman Catholic." But the charge of anti-Catholicism did not die completely and was carried overseas and believed by the Cork City Council.

In Cork, one conservative member called in vain for the Council to invite Grant, stating:

There can be no antipathy to the gentleman himself; neither was there anything in the government of the ex-President objectionable to the Irish people nor unpleasant to the Irish in America.

One of the extreme nationalists, Barry, said that Grant had insulted the Irish people in America by raising the "No Popery" cry there. Another councillor named Tracy said that it would be unbecoming to welcome such a man, for Grant "never thought of the Irish race as he had of others, and he went out of his way to insult their religion." In this statement he was supported by one Dwyer, who indicated that, since Grant had never given the Irish the same recognition as the other inhabitants, it "would be an impropriety to pay any mark of respect personally to General Grant." One member made a slighting reference to Grant as a leatherman, a reference to his early background as a tanner. Other nationalists in the Council spoke in support of the plan to reject Grant's proposal to visit, and this motion passed unanimously.

Officially, Grant had already planned not to go to Cork, and he does not appear

to have been disturbed by the Council's motion. He was reported to have smiled when told of the decision of the Cork Councillors, and he said that he was sorry that they knew so little of American history. The action of the Council did receive much attention in the British Isles and in the United States.

Many persons in Cork particularly the conservatives, were indignant. An ex-Mayor said:

The obstructionists who oppose a cead mille failthe to General Grant are not worth a decent man rubbing up against. It is a pity that the General has determined to return to Paris instead of visiting Cork, where he would have received such an ovation from the self-respecting population as would prove that the Irish heart beats in sympathy in America.

In New York a number of prominent Irish-American citizens met at the Irish Volunteer Armory on Seventh Street "for the purpose of manifesting their disapproval of the late slights put upon General Grant, as a representative of America, by the city council of Cork." Included in the group of protesters were several high-ranking officers in the New York Militia, prominent politicians, mostly Democrats, Irish-American businessmen, and a number of priests.

The *New York Times* commented on this meeting in an editorial entitled "Why Get Indignant?" in which they asserted that Grant needed no such action and dismissed the Council by stating that Grant "thought he was doing an act of courtesy, and so he was, but there are people who do not understand acts of courtesy or know how to deal with civility." The writer pointed out that Grant was popularly received in the rest of Ireland and that Catholic leaders in France, Spain, Italy, and Portugal as well as Dublin saw no anti-Catholic attitude in Grant who was supposed to be one of the most tolerant of men. Even in Dublin the fact that Grant was not Catholic was known and respected. The writer added sarcastically:

But every where this enemy of the Church, this pernicious heretic, was treated with consideration, until the Town Council of Cork heard that he was coming. It remained for them to stand faithful among the faithless and vindicate the Mother Church from the insults of this redoubtable foe.

The editorialist concluded that the Irish-American defense of Grant was not needed. The action of the Cork Council

should not be regarded as an affront to Gen. Grant, or a slight to a distinguished citizen of the United States, worthy of resentment. It would be undignified to treat it as such. It is merely an exhibition of the Town Council of Cork, and if that body chose to present itself before the world in such an unseemly attitude, expostulation should be made, if at all, in its own behalf or that of the city that is put to shame thereof.

The *New York Herald* also took issue with the Cork Council stating that "The Town Council of Cork has done more to advertise itself in connection with General Grant than the municipal authority of any city of Europe" and added that that body *has made a discovery which has escaped the rest of Catholic Europe and of Catholic Ireland. It proclaims, as a justification of its discourtesy, that General Grant went out of his way to insult its religion.*

...protest has almost always been a fact of life in Ireland...

The deeds of General Grant have not been done in a corner, and it seems odd enough that it was reserved for its Town Council of Cork to detect and proclaim a fact which has escaped the knowledge of Europe and America.

Supporting the *Times'* statement that Grant had been warmly received in other Catholic areas, the editorial writer concluded that "the Town Council of Cork would seem to be better Catholics than the Pope himself."

Alluding to Grant's speech in Des Moines the writer added, "But many American Catholics are supporters of anti-sectarian free schools," and concluded that "the Town Council of Cork has acted on a misconception and its members have every reason to be heartily ashamed of their ignorance, as well as of their illiberality and discourtesy."

In Boston *The Pilot*, which was the archdiocesan newspaper, took note of the event. The editor, the famous John Boyle O'Reilly, was a staunch Democrat, but was also an admirer of General Grant. On January 11, 1879, under the heading "The City of Cork Adopts a Strange Resolution," the editor stated

At a meeting of the Town Council of Cork, after several bitter speeches by Catholic members, a motion that the letter of the United States Counsel in Queenstown, announcing General Grant's coming, be simply marked "read," was passed without a dissentient vote. A previous motion to give General Grant a reception was denied.

A week later O'Reilly took up the matter again in a brief editorial. Although he disapproved of the Cork Council's action, he noted that if the action had been taken by any second-rate English town, "it would scarcely cause a ripple." He also deplored the fact that Grant had accepted honorary citizenship from the city of Belfast and referred to himself as an "Ulster Irishman," which O'Reilly thought was uncalled for.

The Pilot published a verbatim account of the Cork meeting on January 25, and the full measure of the insult was apparent to any reader, for the attack on Grant was a

personal one and several of the insults were obviously calculated. But the story had run its course and the newspapers dropped all reference to it.

General Sherman also wrote a strong defense of Grant pointing out that Grant's sister-in-law was a Roman Catholic, and his son had married a Roman Catholic. In addition his son Frederick had visited the Pope and the Pontiff had especially sent his blessings to the General.

The British and Irish newspapers responded warmly, and Grant should have been pleased with their support. Many local newspapers castigated the Cork Council for their action, and they were profuse in their apologies and assured the General that this was a unique action. The *Irish Times* in Dublin offered an apology stating, "Of all the strange proceedings reported by telegraph from Cork, we must speak in terms of unmingled regret. They were undignified, and altogether out of place." The *Cork Examiner* although critical of Grant and feeling that he had shown some anti-Catholic tendencies, stated that if Grant had decided to visit Cork, he would have been welcomed by the people there. The editor wrote

The Corporation might determine to abstain from any formal act of recognition on personal grounds, but we are quite satisfied that the citizens at large would see it was their duty to receive him with respect, even though cordiality was impossible.

The tour of Ireland continued and it was certainly a triumphant one. Grant went from Dublin to Londonderry, where he received the key to its city and on to Belfast where he was also made an honorary citizen. At every stop there were tremendous crowds, and, although there were occasional Irish nationalists who carried a banner or shouted in protest, everywhere there was much enthusiasm. At Belfast he met with the Roman Catholic bishop and upon his return to Dublin he was visited by the Roman Catholic bishop there, Bishop Ryan of Buffalo, the editor of the Catholic Union, and by several leading Protestant and Catholic clergymen.

All in all, except for the one unharmonious note, the trip to Ireland was a success.

One reporter who accompanied Grant wrote

General Grant's visit to Ireland was ended, and it may be fairly said of it that a public man, from a far distant country, without official character, known to the world for his military glory and for services that saved a great republic from anarchy, was never more gently, warmly, earnestly and enthusiastically made to feel that heroism, and, above all, heroism in the cause of liberty, has no country, but is equally at home in any part of the world, where there is a people with a soul to appreciate great services and the aspiration to be free. An event like General Grant's welcome in Ireland does not happen in the lives of many men.

For the people of Ireland General Grant's visit has long been regarded as memorable. The writer recalls hearing his Irish-American neighbors discussing the visit as part of family lore. In 1917, during World War I, a rollicking popular song "Macnamara's Band," published in London, became an overnight success. It has been sung by Irishmen and others since that time and appears in many anthologies of Irish popular songs. In one of the stanzas are the lines

*When the Prince of Wales to Ireland came
He shook me by the hand
And said he'd never heard the like
Of Macnamara's band.*

But that was 1917. In the next few years the political situation in the British Isles changed greatly (to put it mildly), and the Irish Free State was created. The lines of the stanza were changed to read

*When General Grant to Ireland came
He took me by the hand
Says he, "I never heard the likes
Of Macnamara's band,"*

indicating that the Irish had fully accepted the American President into their traditions.

Jordan D. Fiore
Professor of History

The Weaker Vessel

Lady Antonia Fraser
Alfred A. Knopf, 1984

The Weaker Vessel, the title Lady Antonia Fraser has given her history of English women in the seventeenth century, comes from Saint Peter's command to wives to "be in subjection to your own husbands" and to husbands to give "honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel." Seventeenth century commentators embraced the image of women as "weaker vessels" with enthusiasm, applied it to all aspects of feminine character and life, and used it to justify the subordination of women to fathers and husbands. Were seventeenth century English women too weak morally and spiritually to overcome the legacy of "Grandmother Eve" or were they too fair, soft, sickly and physically weak to show courage? Did they put souls in danger by their inability to restrain carnal impulses? Were their brains so delicate that they could be harmed by vigorous use? Did the women, themselves, accept patriarchal protection as their rightful lot, or did they try to break free? Fraser's extensive and excellent study attempts to answer each of these questions.

Renaissance interest in educating women, symbolized by the accomplishments of Queen Mary I, Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth I, waned in the seventeenth century and learned women suffered ridicule. Even an advocate of schooling for girls scorned their brains for being less "charged" so that "like empty casks they make the greater noise." Answering the critics of her call for vigorous study for women, Busua Makin found it expedient to explain that Eve's daughters needed learning to overcome her influence. In the American colonies, a minister wrote that woman's publishing, an accomplishment beyond her sex, "doth rankly smell." That English women felt the sting of that idea, too, is reflected in Anne Countess of Winchelsea's praise of Lady Pakington who:

*Of each Sex the two best Gifts enjoy'd
the skill to write, the Modesty to hide.*

Of herself she wrote:

*Did I my lines intend for publick view
How many censures wou'd their faults pursue...
Alas! a woman that attempts the pen
Such an intruder on the rights of men
Such a presumptuous Creature is esteem'd
The fault can by no virtue be redeem'd*

Redeeming the fault of excess learning, an attribute young women feared lest it make them ineligible to be wives, was not impossible, but only women of high rank, great piety, generous hospitality or some other unusual attribute could accomplish it.

While the number of schools for women increased in this era and proliferation of housekeeping manuals reflects improvement in general learning, the quality of women's education declined. Fraser attributes this partly to the disappearance from England of Roman Catholic convents and the woman teachers associated with them. The attentions of their brothers' tutors or of fathers seeking son-substitutes account more for the accomplished or learned women of the era than the benefits of

Seventeenth century commentators embraced the image of women as "weaker vessels" with enthusiasm, applied it to all aspects of feminine character and life, and used it to justify the subordination of women to fathers and husbands.

formal schooling. Attacking feminine silliness, Margaret Duchess of Newcastle explained that "in Nature we have as clear an understanding as Men." Women should be "bred in schools to mature our Brains." Bitterness made Hannah Wooley scorn parents so concerned for the "barren Noodles of their sons" as to ignore the fertile ground of their daughters' intellects, and Queen Anne tried to fulfill her responsibilities despite ignorance of history, geography, spelling and grammar. Unable to read Latin, the passport to seventeenth century learning, midwives found all medical books, even books on anatomy, closed to them. The great intellectual chasm between the sexes grew as upper-class girls studied needlework, not Latin, while schools for the poor taught boys how to read and girls how to knit.

However educated, the bulk of upper-class women were destined to marry. Family interests, not affection, governed matches, and distrust for romantic love abounded. Did masters and mistresses envy their servants the "guiltless freedom" to marry for love because nobody else's interests were involved? Or did they agree with Puritan Daniel Rogers's warning that marriages based on love might bring deformed offspring? But even couples who married for wealth or social and political advantages might expect to come to love one another. Letters of separated spouses attest to their love and concern for each

other, and funeral elegies give witness to sincere grief at the loss of spouses. By the end of the century, parental control of the marriage choices of their children had diminished. Family interest, however, still limited the choices. Estates decayed by war cried out for well-dowered, heiress brides, even merchants' daughters, but could not support the crucial dowry needs of their own daughters.

Discussing women's attitudes towards sexuality, Fraser comments that general approval of marital sex included the "sensible notion" that women would enjoy sex once introduced to it and notes that some writers thought that orgasm aided conception. Although she includes little discussion of the incidence of pregnancy outside marriage, Fraser does report that venereal disease, unchallenged by seventeenth century medicine, was so prevalent as to be accepted socially.

Pregnancy itself is well-covered, as married women of the age lived in a state of "almost perpetual pregnancy." Bearing children seemed to redeem women of guilt for Eve's sin, and infertility could be deemed evidence of sin. Nevertheless, seventeenth century couples practiced some forms of birth control (probably *coitus interruptus* or, after 1680, the use of condoms). Surreptitious advice appeared in warnings against practices which inhibited conception, and popular publications included folk remedies to prevent conception or induce abortion. Unable to conceive a much-wanted heir in later life, Mary Countess of Warwick lamented having limited her family while young to save her figure and to relieve her husband of the burden of supporting too large a family.

High rates of maternal and infant mortality and the popular belief that a Caesarean birth always caused the mother's death reflect the deficiencies of seventeenth century obstetrics. Midwives were generally ill-trained, and Elizabeth Cellier's attempt to develop a college for midwives failed. Late in the century, the appearance of male physician-obstetricians challenged the traditional female monopoly over the birth process and imperiled the livelihoods of the midwives. Better education and greater skill assured the victory of the physicians. The patients reaped few benefits, however, as lives saved through improved skills were more than balanced by deaths due to infection.

Escape from marriage through divorce was close to impossible. Divorce did not carry the right of remarriage, and grounds for annulment, which did, were very narrow. Even Puritan experiments with civil marriage and divorce plus King Charles II's desperate need for an heir brought no

alteration in the ban on remarriage after divorce.

Widowhood gave some women more freedom and more power than otherwise possible. Armed with widow's portions and dower rights, they could and did act independently. The "lusty widows" of village folklore seem to have escaped the confinement of passive femininity. Even so, despite the belief that an ideal woman would reject remarriage to cling to the memory of her deceased spouse, most widows chose to remarry.

Life existed outside of marriage even in the seventeenth century. For those willing to play it, the mistress's role offered masculine protection and possible upward mobility. So many of the women were also mistresses that the term *actress* seemed to mean *kept woman*. For the virtuous and well-born, employment as a "gentlewoman" within a wealthy household performing the role of a personal secretary was a better choice. Single women hawked their wares in city streets, and milkmaids were reputed to be both well-paid and independent. Successful business women, however, were usually women working with husbands or partners or widows carrying on in the family trade. Few women followed the example of highway-woman Mary Frith, but, as always, legions hoped for high pay as common prostitutes. For the old, ugly or peculiar woman, especially unmarried, seventeenth century life carried the special peril of witchcraft accusations.

Although Fraser found little change in the lives of women during the seventeenth century itself, the Civil War brought challenges to every assumption about the nature of women. Lawrence Stone, in *Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, Ralph Trumbach, editor of *Marriage, Sex and the Family in England 1600-1800*, and others contend that a major change in the history of the family occurred during the period 1600-1800. Adopted first by the elite, it involved the rise of domesticity, the introduction of marriage based on companionship and affection, improvements in the relationship of parents and children and rejection of patriarchal domination in favor of belief in human equality. Although these changes did not develop fully until much later, the "unfeminine" boldness and courage of Civil War women helped to raise doubts about the natural weakness and subordination of women.

Religious upheaval accounts for some of the change. Even before the war began, women had defied Saint Paul's injunction to keep silent by "prophesizing." Later, Quaker "Inner Light" visited both sexes, and Quaker men and women worked side

by side as they answered God's call in England and abroad. When men began to advocate liberty of conscience for themselves, they found it difficult to deny it to women. And didn't liberty of conscience place a woman, or at least one aspect of her life, above her husband's control? Did acknowledging the spiritual equality of women, as the Quakers did, open doubts about their political and social inequality? Early in the eighteenth century, Mary Astell complained that "...not Milton...nor any of the Advocates of Resistance, would cry up Liberty to poor Female Slaves or plead for the lawfulness of Resisting a Private Tyranny." Even the radical Levelers continued to preach the subordination of wives to husbands, and the Putney debater who demanded a place for the "poorest he" in England ignored the poorest she. Elizabeth Lilburne's clever reply to officials who found it strange that a woman should petition them, even in her husband's behalf -- "It was strange that you cut off the King's head, yet I suppose you will justify it." -- demonstrates how the destruction of one tradition can undermine all others.

Necessity drove women to play unaccustomed public roles in the war era. Although some women had pleaded before the Court of Star Chamber in their husbands' causes prior to the war, their actions were very unusual. Large numbers of Civil War women, like Elizabeth Lilburne and the Royalist women who had to appear in Goldsmith's Hall to claim the one-fifth part of their husbands' sequestered estates to which they were entitled, appeared before Civil War tribunals. Sometimes, their ability to plead in ways that the men would have found "unmanly" increased their effectiveness. Amazon mobs, signers of great women's petitions and even midwives indignant that the war was costing them business appear in the public records of the Civil War.

Finally, Civil War women challenged the assumption that women were so physically weak and timid as to need constant masculine protection, and Fraser thinks that some of them relished doing so. Nobody could deny the courage with which Charlotte de la Tremoille, Countess of Derby, withstood the siege forces outside her walls. The women of Lyme showed no timidity as they helped repel the King's formidable kinsman, Prince Rupert of the Rhine. Individuals risked their own safety when they served as spies or helped fugitives, and, as in so many other wars, the occasional soldier was a woman in disguise.

The flaws in Fraser's *The Weaker Vessel* are few and understandable. It is not a

statistical study, but it does make use of available statistics. Yet, the reader is often left wondering just how typical a cited example is. Despite efforts to include ordinary women as well as the articulate elite, Fraser does not succeed in bringing the inarticulate masses to life. Were the guiltlessly free servants really able to marry for love? Might marriage, itself, have required more economic freedom than they enjoyed? In some places, tighter organization would improve the study, and including the irrelevant family connections of the women used to document ideas often gives the work an unnecessary gossip tone. Confusion caused by the constant changes in people's names and titles remains despite efforts to eliminate it. These are very minor flaws. *The Weaker Vessel* has much to offer scholars and opens a whole new world to the general reader.

Jean Stonehouse
Assistant Professor of History

Iacocca

Lee Iacocca and William Novak
New York: Bantam 1984

The personality portrayed in the autobiography, *Iacocca*, will be familiar to T.V. viewers who have watched Lee Iacocca advertising Chrysler products. The strong willed, hard-working son of Italian immigrant parents relates his story of success and failure in the corporate board rooms of the auto industry. The book provides a glimpse of the personal life of Lee Iacocca, as well as a look into the operation of a major U.S. manufacturing firm and the economics of the auto industry.

Nicola and Antoinette Iacocca, Lee's parents, settled in Allentown, Pennsylvania in the early 1900s and raised two children, Lido and Delma. From childhood Lido, or Lee as he became known, was an industrious student. He attended public school in Allentown, and earned his Bachelor of Science degree in industrial engineering at Lehigh University, completing his studies at Lehigh in eight consecutive semesters. Upon graduation, he was offered employment with the Ford Motor Company, but acting on the advice of the placement director at Lehigh, he

applied for and was awarded the Wallace Memorial Fellowship at Princeton University. After completing his master's degree at Princeton, Lee Iacocca began his work at Ford and his climb to the top of the corporate ladder.

Although educated as an engineer, he was more interested in the personal appeal of sales, and managed to move into marketing. Lee Iacocca's spectacular rise to the position of president of Ford Motor Company is detailed in his autobiography. Although the author details the sacrifices and long hours of work necessary to reach the top, he also emphasizes the importance of his family and the fact that he always made sure he had time for them. It was in the position of general manager of the Ford Division that he made his most notable contribution: the introduction of the Mustang. In 1965 when the Mustang broke all previous sales records, it became apparent that Lee Iacocca was destined to become the chief executive officer at Ford. While the climb to the top is long and arduous, the fall can be quick and cruel. Seemingly on top of the world at Ford, Lee Iacocca describes his battle with Henry Ford. The intriguing story leading to Iacocca's firing by Henry Ford and the bitterness which ensued, shows a bit of the politics, infighting and total loyalty to the company demanded of executives. As Iacocca says: "The scars left by Henry Ford, especially on my family, will be lasting, because the wounds were deep."

After the Ford crisis, Iacocca's courtship by Chrysler began another challenge and uphill climb. He recounts the mismanagement and disorganization of the Chrysler Corporation which he took over and describes the management changes he initiated in his efforts to save a "sinking ship." Although his efforts made Chrysler a viable business organization, an external blow in the form of an oil crisis brought the corporation and the auto industry to its knees. Rather than concede defeat, Iacocca took up the struggle in the political arena. Discussing his bid for a government backed loan, Iacocca gives an insider's view of the condition of the auto industry since the oil crisis and the loss of sales to foreign producers. Would a government-backed loan to a private corporation set precedent in the U.S.? Has the auto industry responded to consumer demand or rather tried to mold consumer demand, thereby completely missing the need for smaller more efficient cars? What political maneuverings were necessary to secure \$1.5 billion in loan guarantees from Congress? These are some of the many questions which are considered in the account of the successful turnaround at Chrysler.

In saving Chrysler Corporation from bankruptcy, Lee Iacocca has become an American hero. "By the middle of 1983, when the company was solidly on its feet again, there were stories floating around that I was running for President."

Iacocca gives us more than an insightful look at corporate America. It provides a picture of some of the personalities that manage a corporation, explains various corporate management techniques and gives a look at the political and economic conditions in which corporations operate. *Iacocca*, however, is primarily about the man himself.

Anthony Cicerone
Instructor of Economics

The Japanese Mind: The Goliath Explained

Robert C. Christopher
Linden Press 1983

Robert C. Christopher's exploration of the Japanese mind and character illuminates a cross-cultural landscape currently filled with shadowy and distorted images of the Japanese people. Accept the premise, as Mr. Christopher does, that Japanese logic and values differ radically from our own, and you're on your way to understanding the multiplicity of economic, cultural, political and social problems that grow out of our failure to recognize the wide, deep cultural gulf which exists between our two peoples.

Mr. Christopher knows Japanese persons in places high and low: chief executives, legislators, government workers, professors, housewives and salarymen (men who work for Japanese companies). His frequent references to them, their lives, experiences, feelings, and perceptions of Japanese-American relations animate his narrative. His approach is thematic. We're introduced to the Japanese mind first through a series of tenets Mr. Christopher offers about being Japanese, next through the social, economic and political institutions which shape and reinforce this character, and finally through a tentative appraisal of changes in Japanese society which may influence the Japanese character and Japanese-American relations.

Having established his premise, Mr.

Christopher proceeds. Why are the Japanese so different? Christopher's first tenet holds that to understand the Japanese mind, logically one needs to understand the language in which Japanese think. One fundamental source of complexity in the Japanese language is the use of different verb forms and even different vocabulary to denote the speaker's hierarchical relationship with the person to whom he speaks. Add to this the existence of 50,000 different kanji or Chinese pictographs which can be found in a Japanese dictionary, and one begins to discover the difficulties of the Japanese language. With a language overwhelming in its potential for subtlety and indirection, it is no surprise that the Japanese prefer, whenever possible, to avoid verbal communication entirely.

In place of the spoken word, Japanese rely on *haragei*, translated formally as visceral communication, more commonly as belly language. Racial homogeneity and almost identical social and cultural conditioning has produced a situation, Christopher observes, in which it is often possible for one Japanese to determine the reaction of another to a particular situation simply by observing the second man's facial expressions, the length and timing of his silences and the apparently meaningless sounds he emits from time to time. Thus, following from the first, the second tenet claims that racially and culturally, Japan is the most homogeneous of the world's major nations. The ability of Japanese to read each other's minds and faces is based on the sharing of a common social and cultural history, one that developed in relative isolation.

The corollary to this exclusionary orientation is the recognition of vulnerability. Given the perception that adversity will soon appear, be it typhoons, earthquakes or man-made trouble, the Japanese have psychic fears which reinforce important aspects of their character: tribal values, Confucian ethics and a heavy emphasis on hierarchy and loyalty.

A sense of collective responsibility leads to a preference for decision by group consensus. This in turn negates any tendency toward direct personal confrontation; in fact, the need to avoid conflict is increased. This drive toward consensus is supported by the concept of *nemawashi*, root binding, which is revealed in the tendency to be cautious and tentative in feeling out attitudes toward an issue. By taking no firm stand and by making implicit rather than explicit arguments, the opportunity to avoid conflict and discover consensus is created.

The desire for group well-being affirms

the value of adaptability and change. Since commitment is to a collectivity rather than to an ideology or religion, change can be accepted without the obstacles and conflict common to coping with change in the West. Of course this adaptability, based primarily on the drive for survival, has been a double edged sword. Being flexible has meant emerging from U.S. occupation as a willing borrower of U.S. research, technology and political structures, picking up every new social or intellectual trend that appears in the U.S., while at the same time protecting the essential Japanese value system and culture which has been sustaining and nourishing. Christopher concludes his list of tenets by observing that despite the readiness of the Japanese to adopt things foreign, in their hearts, they feel superior to the rest of the world.

Setting aside his initial premise and set of tenets, Mr. Christopher turns to an examination of daily life in Japan. He paints a seemingly transparent picture of some daily event: a day at the beach, park, kindergarten class, neighborhood, home, apartment, restaurant. He then transports us behind the *shoji* (paper sliding doors) to uncover cultural dynamics which reveal quite a different picture. Finally, he points out the consequences of misinterpretation and urges caution in making cultural generalizations drawn from superficial observation.

For example, consider the Japanese family. It is a far more complex entity than suggested by watching a Japanese mom, dad and their two kids at the beach. The visual images are startlingly similar to those of Americans: the number of family members, artifacts like pails, shovels, inflatable rubber duck, plastic cooler and portable radio or TV. Yet superficial similarities give way to significant variance when one comes to understand the psychic environment in which this family lives. The marriage bringing this family into being may well be one of the 40% of Japanese marriages arranged by a go-between. Marriage is viewed, not as the culmination of romance, but as a permanent practical union of social significance. The wife will most likely stay at home and raise the children, handle finances and make major decisions about household management. The husband, though respected and deferred to, will be at work or in a social setting with workmates much of his life. Children will be pampered, boys favored over girls, both encouraged to be dependent upon the love, support and unqualified acceptance of dad, and especially, mom. While enlightened by insights into the dynamics of Japanese family life, the Western eye will probably continue to view

in this scene an oppressed wife, a weak and ineffectual father and spoiled brats. Taking us beyond this tempting set of stereotypes is Christopher's forte.

Through cultural analysis he resolves what must be for the Westerner an anomaly. Is the Japanese male lord of all he surveys, dominant in professional and public life, or is he a weak, ineffectual person able to exert limited influence in his own

...despite the readiness of the Japanese to adopt things foreign, in their hearts, they feel superior to the rest of the world.

home? Perhaps he is both.

An understanding of the concept of *amae*, which does not have a direct English equivalent, is central to recognizing the nature of this seeming contradiction. It refers to unconditional acceptance which fosters dependence. Men, and to a lesser extent women, grow up with an expectation they will be loved and cherished from birth to death, and beyond. Japanese males, being endowed with superiority at birth, being pampered and favored more than females, carry with them throughout life feelings of being unconditionally loved and accepted. Thus the father of the household, freed of concern about losing his place of honor by allowing his wife decision making power, is able to give his full allegiance and commitment to his company. He knows his dedication will be repaid. In grasping, even in rudimentary fashion, this dependency syndrome, the concept of *amae*, the Westerner is given a glimpse of the Japanese mind at work.

An accumulation of such insights provided in this book enables the reader to replace ethnocentric attitudes with a deeper understanding of the Japanese mind and culture.

When Christopher leaves his discussion of home and work and attempts to interpret social dynamics however, his analysis becomes, like Japan, earthquake prone. For example, take his declaration that the role of women in Japanese society is changing. For evidence he introduces us to a number of successful women holding responsible positions in government, universities, industry, and journalism. In contrasting them with the more traditional

Japanese stereotypes of the Japanese female as geisha, office girl and housewife, he seeks to report an historic trend. His statement that "what is going on in Japan now, I believe, is a subtle but inexorable consensus changing process concerning sexual roles," is supported by a few glittering success stories, a report of reluctant posturing on the part of the Japanese government to affirm women's rights and an increase in the Japanese woman's perception that if she has the desire and ability she should be allowed to enter fields of work previously reserved for men. His conclusion, "the key question, in fact, seems to me not whether the Japanese women's revolution will triumph, but how soon," reflects one of Mr. Christopher's infrequent departures from objectivity. For preceding this prediction about a growing fissure in the structure of Japanese society, he has carefully built a more accurate scenario revealing the role of the Japanese woman as essential to the stability of her culture.

In concluding his probe of the Japanese mind, Mr. Christopher peers tentatively into the future of Japan and U.S.-Japanese relations. America needs to retain sufficient military might to contain Soviet adventurism in areas vital to Japan's interests and to remain strong enough economically to continue an active international role. Internally, Japan needs to cope with an aging work force, and the tendency of decreased productivity brought about by an increased affluence.

On a psychic level, the Japanese may need to work through the state of dynamic tension brought about by the influence of modern western values and western style relationships focusing on the importance of individual rights, and the more deeply ingrained structure of relationships and ethics originating in village life and generic to all Japanese social relationships.

Christopher's parting comment, that "like so many Japanese, Japan as a nation is a quick study," leaves us with an important caveat. Oversimplification is not the elixir of truth. *The Japanese Mind: The Goliath Explained* begins the reader on a long road to understanding the Japanese people, their history and culture. The careful reader discovers that although the road will change contours to adapt to new conditions, the distinct sign posts and groups peopling the road will be unlikely to change significantly.

Joel Litvin
Chairperson
Communication Arts & Sciences

GETTING GRAPHIC:

COMPUTER GRAPHICS IN BIOCHEMISTRY

Wilmon B. Chipman

We live in a three dimensional world, but even the familiar objects we see every day such as buildings, are difficult to represent in drawings that must be two dimensional. Things as tiny and complex as chemical molecules are vastly more challenging to manipulate in two dimensions. The way chemists think about the world has been conditioned by the ways in which three-dimensional objects can be represented on paper. However, new computer graphics techniques are changing the ways in which three dimensional objects are represented. For this reason, computers are drastically changing how science and engineering are approached.

For example, a child's drawing of an automobile is usually flat; it only shows the side of the car. An engineer's drawing attempts to represent the whole three dimensional object, but the viewer needs experience to interpret such drawings. Recent developments in computer graphics have made possible the presentation of a three dimensional object from any angle. Television advertisements take advantage of this advance in technology. Everyone has seen ads on television in which a Dodge Van rotates on the screen before your very eyes while white-robed engineers ponder design changes. To understand how complex molecules function, chemists, biologists and biochemists are beginning to use the same techniques that make televised graphics so effective.

In order to understand the complexities of a living system, biochemists need to know both how the atoms in molecules are arranged, and how both the atoms and the molecules move. Let's use the very simple structure of water as a beginning example. The water molecule, represented as H_2O , consists of two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen. Since water is a planar molecule (all three atoms are in a plane) it can be drawn in two dimensions by specifying both the order in which the atoms are connected (H-O-H) and also the bond angles (see Fig. 1). The drawing in Figure 1a provides just a single viewing angle.

Things get more complicated when one realizes that water reacts as it does because the atoms in a real water molecule are constantly moving relative to one another. This movement can also be shown in flat drawings by changing the lengths of the bonds and/or their angles of attachment (see Figs. 1b and 1c). This technique is

obviously somewhat unsatisfactory since so many drawings would be required to depict all the possible changes for a molecule that is vibrating.

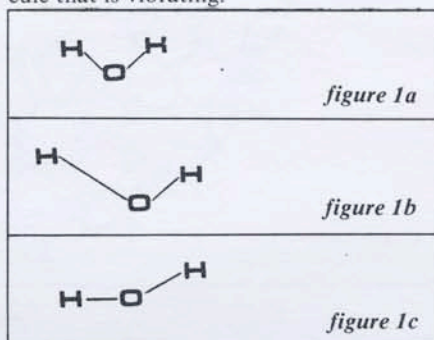


Figure 1 Water (H_2O)

Now let's look at a slightly more complicated molecule, such as glucose. Glucose has six carbon atoms, twelve hydrogen atoms and six oxygen atoms ($C_6H_{12}O_6$), and is NOT planar. We must show the molecule in three dimensions in order to understand its structure. Figure 2 depicts two common representations of the glucose molecule. If these drawings do not look three dimensional to you, you are not alone. A substantial percentage of viewers do not immediately see the third dimension (depth) from the drawing. You are beginning to understand the difficulties involved in manipulating real world objects on paper.

Going from water to glucose we have

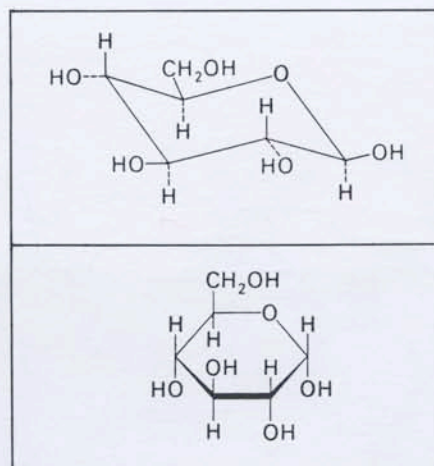


Figure 2
Glucose (two representations)

already increased the number of atoms eight times (from three to twenty-four), the number of bond angles at least twenty-five times, and the number of possible vibrations many hundred-fold. For years, chemists and biochemists have used tinker-toy-like models to try to understand how molecules work. Very sophisticated and expensive models have been built which show at least some of the permitted motions. Chemists have actually published papers in which all of the experimental work was done with these models. To model a really complex compound requires hundreds of sets of "tinker-toys" and steel or aluminum shafts to support a finished model. Recent developments in microcomputer graphics have made it possible to show molecules the size of glucose as they rotate and vibrate.

The molecules that currently interest biologists and biochemists, such as the nucleic acids (DNA and RNA) and proteins, are much larger and more complicated than glucose. They may have hundreds of thousands of atoms, and essentially infinite numbers of bond angles and possible vibrations. Until recently biochemists have dealt with these large molecules by drawing simplified pictures in which the sequence of small molecules making up the complex nucleic acid or protein are listed on pieces of paper pasted together and taped to the walls, spiraling around the room. It is impressive to walk into such a room to see a scientist wandering around searching the walls for a particular part of the structure; impressive, but inefficient.

The first significant use of computers in biochemistry was computational. The position of the atoms in crystalline molecules can be determined from a technique known as x-ray crystallography. X-rays are passed through a crystal and each atom (in a crystal made up of many molecules) bends the x-ray, resulting in a diffraction pattern. The mathematics that relate the diffraction pattern to the position of the atoms are very complicated. Before computers were used, the calculation needed to understand a single four-hour experiment on the structure of a single molecule (of the order of complexity of glucose) took several years to complete. The speed of computers has allowed scientists to determine the position of atoms in crystals of more and more complicated molecules, including DNA and proteins in a much

shorter period of time. As the molecule becomes more complicated, so does our understanding of the results of the computations. In the past, biochemists dealt with this complexity by building more and more complicated "tinker-toy" models. In the last two years, biochemists have been able to produce computer graphic representations of complicated molecules directly from x-ray data.

A second important application of computers in biochemistry makes use of their data storage and data searching capabilities. During the last two years, many biochemistry research groups have been using computer programs that run on the Apple II family of microcomputers to keep track of the sequences of the small molecules such as amino acids and nucleotides that determine the structure of proteins and DNA respectively. The same microcomputer is powerful enough to search these sequence files for a short series of amino acids or nucleotides that is of particular importance.

Recombinant DNA technology (the ability to insert a gene from one organism into the DNA of another) is one of the areas of genetic engineering where the ability to find a particular sequence of nucleotides is very important. The sequences that are important might identify a regulatory site or the place where a particular enzyme cleaves the DNA. The four individual nucleosides that make up the polynucleotide DNA are adenosine, guanosine, thymidine and cytidine; which are abbreviated A, G, T, C, respectively. The microcomputer takes a DNA sequence, represented by a list of letters CAGGAAACAGCTA, which might be several hundred pages long, and searches it for each occurrence of a short sequence like TGGCCA. A word processing program can search a letter for each occurrence of a particular word in similar fashion. Biochemists no longer have to physically search the paper trail that spirals several times around the wall of the laboratory.

Complex biomolecules in living systems do not exist as static crystals; they are in solution, the atoms are moving, and they are often surrounded by a sheath of partially ordered water molecules. The data handling capabilities of modern computers together with recently developed computer graphics and animation techniques, provide a much better way of representing complex molecules, and also allow bio-

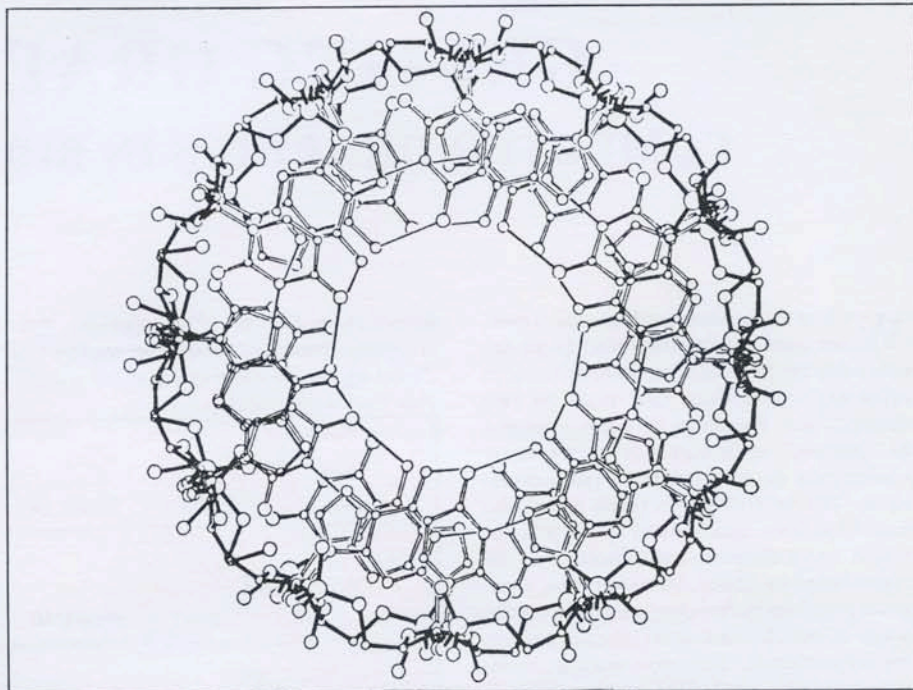


Figure 3
Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA)

chemists to investigate how such large molecules interact with each other or with smaller molecules. Most of the important problems of biochemistry, such as how enzymes are turned on or off, where the duplication of a section of DNA (or gene) begins, or how drugs work, involve this type of interaction.

Computer graphics help scientists understand complex molecular structures by translating complex measurements into physical objects on a screen. Engineers measure the information-handling capability of circuits in terms of bandwidth; the greater the information transfer capability, the greater the bandwidth. The widest

bandwidth channel available into the human brain is the eye. Complex molecular structures, and the interactions between them in solution, are best understood by the use of sophisticated computer graphics techniques. The use of color graphics increases the amount of information that can be handled at one time. (Different atoms are represented in different colors; for example, oxygen is red.) As the complexity of the structures that biochemists are interested in has increased, it has become more and more important to exploit computer-generated representations of molecules, such as shown in Figure 3.

The most important progress in the use

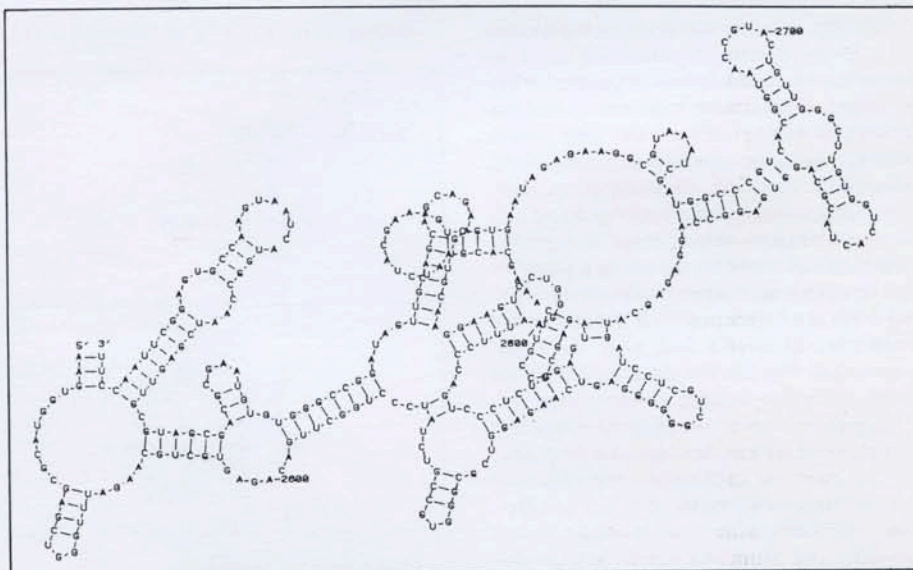


Figure 4
ribonucleic acid (RNA)

of computers as biochemical research tools comes from the rapidly developing field of real-time animated computer graphics, combined with the computational powers of modern computers. Many important biomolecules (most enzymes and RNA) cannot be crystalized; also extrapolating from the crystal to a vibrating rotating molecule in solution may lead to oversimplification. In the last two years, theoretical biochemists have been remarkably successful in computing the shapes, or conformations, of molecules such as RNA, which has not been crystalized, from the calculations of the forces between the atoms of molecules. This information is not available from any other experimental techniques, yet it is essential to the understanding of the action of RNA. A simplified black and white representation of an RNA molecule is shown in Figure 4.

During a recent visit to the Evans and Sutherland Corporation in Salt Lake City, I used a state-of-the-art biochemical "research engine" which allowed the operator to selectively vary the conformations of an enzyme and of the substrate (the small molecule that the enzyme causes to react) on an atom-by-atom or bond-by-bond basis as a way of studying why enzymes are so extraordinarily efficient in causing reactions to take place. The same system is already providing important insights for pharmaceutical chemists in the area of drug and drug receptor interaction. In fact, new drugs are being designed by the use of this system. In the very near future, the system will be able to describe interactions between large biomolecules, thus opening the way for important discoveries in areas such as molecular recognition of DNA (how a regulatory protein recognizes DNA, or vice-versa).

Molecular recognition between large biomolecules, followed by interaction to form "super molecules," appears to require the two molecules (receptor and substrate) to be in contact over a large area, and to involve the existence or formation of a large cavity in one of the two molecules. During the course of the interaction, there is a balance between flexibility and rigidity on the part of each molecule. As the process proceeds, many interactions develop between atoms or bonds in the receptor, and atoms or bonds in the substrate. Animated color graphics, based on theoretical computations or just on experi-

mental changes by the operator, are enabling us to begin to understand these complicated processes.

The miniaturization of electronic circuit designs has caused dramatic decreases in the size and cost of computer graphics hardware. A "research engine" such as the Evans and Sutherland PS 300 system that produces real-time animated molecular graphics in color is much smaller than a minicomputer, currently sells for \$40,000 and only requires the intermittent use of a minicomputer such as the VAX. Since it is a special purpose machine, it is about as fast (1,000,000,000 computations per second) as the most recent Cray supercomputer. What is even more remarkable is that it is now cheaper to implement a graphics subroutine in hardware ("silicon software") in such a machine than it is to have a programmer write the special subroutine for a general purpose computer such as the VAX 11/780. The repeated temporary storage of partial results in memory in the general purpose machine is

eliminated in the special purpose machine, thus yielding remarkable efficiencies in cost and time.

Five years ago, a miniaturized microcomputer circuit or chip like the Motorola 68000 microprocessor (which runs the Macintosh microcomputer) cost twenty million dollars and five years of time to develop; a chip of similar size can now be developed in six months at a cost so low that a profit can be made on a production run of only ten units. It is projected that within a year or two, such a miniaturized circuit or chip may be produced in days rather than months. As the cost of miniaturized electronic circuits or chips decreases rapidly, the power and complexity of the individual chips is increasing just as rapidly. Drastic cost decreases and even more dramatic performance increases will result in the area of real-time animated computer graphics. For these reasons, biochemical research will come to depend more and more heavily on such techniques.

Wilmon B. Chipman
Professor of Chemical Sciences

A Winter That Will Not Thaw

My grandmother rocks before a cracked
and drafty hearth. She coughs shivers
stares with eyes awkward as galoshes.
Her arms are crossed, hands locked
in the armpits. She motions with her head
for me to come, to warm myself
around a stove that wheezes heat.

My father, dressed in my old khaki coat,
stomps his feet on my front porch.
He breaks my only shovel into pieces.
He tries to speak to me through glass
but can't. His face would shatter.
He kneels and presses lips against
the keyhole. *Sleet*, he breathes, *Sleet*.

I lie in bed, my newborn son tucked
at my side. A last resort for warmth.
Suddenly, I strip away the quilts.
My son is blue, his face the moon.
I clutch him to my chest and squeeze.
I find his wrist and squeeze it,
squeeze it, till it snaps.

- Chuck Ozug

Beyond Toleration

by Edward James

We live in a society that is wracked by moral differences -- from abortion and civil disobedience to sex and welfare issues. Such pressing issues offer so many options, qualifications and restatements, that we often do not even know how to begin to deal with them. And when we ourselves manage to work through to a conclusion we can abide, we find ourselves confronted by the *problem of the other*: how are we to regard those who disagree with us on such moral issues?

We seemingly have just a few choices open to us: they, the others, are just different, expressing an alternative moral perspective, or deficient, lacking something that is needed to acknowledge the truth. If deficient, these others may be either ignorant, not yet informed of the truth; or stupid, mentally incapable of recognizing the truth; or deranged, emotionally incapable of recognizing the truth; or perverted, unwilling to acknowledge the truth; or evil, willing to reject the truth. Given these options *either* we are forced into embracing a form of ethical relativism, where we take moral differences merely to represent a different style of life: *or* we are forced into viewing those who differ from us as inferior -- in knowledge, psychic capacity, or in morality.

Most of us tend to gravitate toward an uncomfortable toleration of those others. Our toleration is uncomfortable because there are many views we don't believe we should tolerate. For instance, I do not believe we should tolerate male supremacy, white supremacy, homophobia, systematic neglect of the poor and oppressed, limited nuclear war, our current Central America "bring back Vietnam" policy, and so on. Such points of view should not be respected, should be ridiculed, and exist to be rejected. But I do want to tolerate, in some sense, those who advocate views different from my own on abortion, euthanasia, civil disobedience, human and animal liberation, and the like. But how can we -- how can I -- make this distinction? Isn't toleration in itself inconsistent? If we really believe our moral views, and if we have come to them in a reasoned fashion, then how can we take such a *laissez-faire* attitude toward those who disagree with us on these matters? Just as we don't allow people to get away with incorrect views on science or geography -- Rome, not Naples, is the capital of Italy -- so we should not

allow them to get away with "wrong" views on civil disobedience or abortion.

Yet to follow through the logic of this understanding of moral differences soon leads us to an unacceptable state of affairs: almost every one is our inferior or even enemy. We disagree on moral matters with almost everyone. But the idea that these others are just different from us is unacceptable. Otherwise, we seem forced into a situation of moral chaos, where anything goes. Yet in most of the situations we confront, these others are neither ignorant -- they know the pertinent moral data -- nor unable -- what they don't know they can learn rather readily. Hence these others are not stupid or deranged. So what follows is that those who disagree with us are either perverted or evil. Hence, most of the people in the world are either perverted or evil! Surely there is something wrong somewhere: the problem is to determine where. There are a number of options open to us, all of which have complications. Let me mention, briefly, two. One way out is to refine the notion of relativism by allowing that those with whom we disagree are merely different but by also insisting that there are boundaries to these differences. Not everything goes. This restrained view of relativism would allow for a divergence within our moral view, but only up to a point. For example, we -- I -- would want to forbid apartheid as a legitimate moral position and yet at the same time allow for substantial differences on such issues as abortion, euthanasia, and civil disobedience. The problem, of course, is to make coherent sense of such a view. How can a perspective be both absolutistic and relativistic? How could the distinction between what is absolutely condemned and what leaves room for real divergence be consistently drawn?

The other way out is to widen or expand the ideas of ignorance or stupidity so as to include us as well. Following this alternative, we would distinguish between moral matters about which we *know* -- e.g., that racism or sexism is wrong -- and other moral concerns about which we are *not clear* -- e.g., that civil disobedience or abortion is at times permissible. But once again, how do we make this distinction? How is it that we can know certain moral claims and not know others? How, for example, can we claim to know that racism is wrong and not know that certain cases of



graphic by John Heller

abortion are wrong? To reply by a metaphor, for example, that we see through a glass darkly, doesn't help. For how is it that we know that we see through a glass darkly on certain issues and not on others? And what does it -- could it -- mean to say that we see moral matters darkly? Or is it also that we see *this*, that we see through a glass darkly, darkly?

I do believe that the difficulties of one of these views can be satisfactorily addressed. But it takes a long story. It involves in particular a careful analysis of our notions of morality and knowledge. For instance, is it possible to have knowledge which allows for disagreement? We might be inclined to say that we can have inductive knowledge which turns out false: we may be willing to say that we know that something which occurs less than once out of a million times will not happen this time. On this basis we fly on planes and drive cars without fearing (too much) for our lives. It is possible, then, to have moral knowledge which allows for legitimate disagreement among moral agents, where the agents who disagree can yet be said to have knowledge.

What we see in such questions as these is one of the central problems of our day and of our country. Without a satisfactory reply to such questions it becomes very difficult to see how our democracy can have a theoretical basis. For democracy is that one's fellow citizens deserve respect -- not just in the sense of being given a vote, but also in the senses of being guaranteed such "rights" as a chance to be competitive and a way of making one's views known. Yet how can one respect those who differ from one's deepest beliefs? Must they not instead be ridiculed, hounded, and silenced?

Edward James
Chairperson
Department of Philosophy

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